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**‘LOVE YOUR JOB!’
A PSYCHOSOCIAL RESEARCH ON AFFECTIVE LABOUR IN THE TURKISH
FINE-DINING SECTOR**

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Declaration

This thesis is submitted to the University of Warwick in support of my application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It has been composed by myself and has not been submitted in any previous application for any degree. The work presented (including data generated and data analysis) was carried out by the author.

Abstract

Drawing on a multi-sited psychosocial ethnography of the fine-dining sector in Istanbul, Turkey, this thesis explores the vicissitudes of love and affective labour under post-Fordism. It studies (i) discourses and imagery of love for culinary work circulating around the world, and their particular articulation in the Turkish fine-dining context, (ii) how local actors are enticed by, act on, embody, reify and perform the ethos of love inscribed in these representations, and (iii) how the performance of love is implicated in cooks' affective labour, subjectivity, wellbeing and working conditions.

The thesis is based on a new research methodology developed through cross-fertilisation between multi-sited organisational ethnography and psychoanalytically-inflected research. The fieldwork was designed to trace the ethos of love in discourses, images, artefacts and performances across culinary sites. Theoretical insights from Freud and Lacan are employed to interpret the ethnographic material, shedding light on its unconscious and affective facets.

The thesis engages with post-Fordist thought, the affective labour debate and psychosocial studies. It contributes to the scholarly literature by providing a rigorous analysis and elaborate theory of symbolic identification with the post-Fordist ethos, imaginary identification with cultural representations, performance of these identifications as part of affective labour, and ambivalence toward one's job. Intricate connections between these moments in the psychosocial process of subject formation are revealed and theorised. A novel and psychoanalytically-inflected definition of affective labour is also offered, which emerges as the performative work of reproducing individuals and collectives requiring human contact, interpersonal skills, emotion management, embodiment of cultural imagery and social roles, and love. The thesis disentangles the hegemonic ethos of post-Fordist work and develops a comprehensive theory of its affectivity.

Abbreviations

AKP	Justice and Development Party
DWYL	Do What You Love
ILO	International Labour Organization
KOSGEB	Directorate for the Development and Support of Small and Medium Enterprises
MNC	Multinational corporation
SEGEM	Sınai Eğitim ve Geliştirme Merkezi (Turkish Industrial Training and Development Centre)
SME	Small and medium-sized enterprise
TÜRSAB	Association of Turkish Tourism Agencies
YÖK	Yükseköğretim Kurumu (Turkish Council for Higher Education)

Chapter 1: Introduction

The market economy of jobs in a capitalist society emphatically does not extend to a market economy of satisfactions (Willis, 1977).

...the limitations of our imagination are shaped by the limitations of our existing system (Shippen, 2014).

To people confident of their power to change things, 'progress' is an axiom. To people who feel that things fall out of their hands, the idea of progress would not occur and would be laughable if heard. Between the two polar conditions there is little room for a *sine ira et studio* debate, let alone a consensus (Bauman, 2000).

This thesis is concerned with the post-Fordist ethos of love and affective labour. These are studied in the context of the Turkish fine-dining sector, which has been radically transformed by a new generation of cooks, restaurateurs, culinary schools, food writers and diners since the 2000s. These local actors have circulated and acted on the ethos of love, changing many aspects of high-end culinary production, including the types of service and product on offer, the performance of culinary labour, the image and appeal of culinary work, wages and working conditions, and the gender division of labour.

These changes are manifestations of immaterialisation in the Turkish fine-dining sector as part of a global transition to post-Fordism. Immaterialisation refers to an increase in the volume, economic value, strategic importance and socio-cultural influence of immaterial production (production of immaterial goods), which has culminated in a paradigm shift in ways of thinking, living and being. This has occurred especially in industrialised countries since the 1970s, as is evident in the expansion of sectors reliant on affective and cognitive labour, such as services, IT, finance, and cultural and creative industries (Hardt and Negri, 2004: 114).

The increased value and strategic importance of immaterial (affective and cognitive) labour is thought to have intensified organisational efforts to control workers' emotional and mental capacities (Dowling, 2007: 121; Gabriel et al., 2015: 633; Lazzarato, 1996: 133-5; Mumby, 2016: 887, 898; Peticca-Harris et al., 2015: 574). These efforts, it is argued, produce a work ideology that glorifies work as passionate, and as a means for fun, self-realisation and the exercise of creativity (for

example, see Dowling, 2007: 119-20; Ekman, 2013: 1167; Endrissat et al., 2015: 1556; Fleming and Spicer, 2004: 89; Gill and Pratt 2008: 17; Terranova, 2000: 36). In this thesis, I refer to this ideology as ‘the post-Fordist ethos’ or ‘the ethos of love’.

In previous literature, the link between the ethos of love and immaterial labour appears to have been postulated rather than empirically located. Moreover, few empirical studies (among them, Ouellette, 2017; Warhurst and Nickson, 2007; Van den Berg and Arts, 2018) have captured the transition to and lived experience of post-Fordism at the individual and organisational levels. Consequently, the meta-narrative of post-Fordism is plagued with sweeping generalisations that disregard the multiplicity of ways in which it is articulated in local and organisational contexts. In particular, it has not been established: (i) how the ethos of love is culturally produced and reproduced, (ii) which organisational, sectoral and macro-economic changes occur in contexts where it becomes hegemonic, (iii) how individual subjects become affectively attached to this ethos and incorporate it into their embodied performance of affective labour, (iv) what effects this has on their motivation, productivity and wellbeing, and (v) what are the vicissitudes of the love in question (such as ambivalence and pain).

This thesis addresses the gaps identified above through an ethnographic study of the Turkish fine-dining sector that interweaves micro, meso and macro levels of analysis. The ethnographic data show how images, discourses, subjects, artefacts, localities, ideologies, bodies and psyches are articulated and entangled in a wealth of ways that implicate the global in the local, the social in the individual, the abstract in the concrete, and vice versa. For example, I analyse the case of a female landscape architecture student who, after watching the Hollywood movie *Chocolat* (2000), decided to turn her home-baking hobby into a professional pursuit; the case of a young male cook who embodies the ‘bad boy chef’ persona popularised by celebrity chefs like Anthony Bourdain; and the case of a restaurant that has put itself on the map partly by representing its commercial activities, such as sourcing, as an anthropological endeavour, i.e. as cultural production. These all participate in, reproduce and give a local twist to the organisational, social and economic practices, cultural trends and ideological currents of the post-Fordist regime.

Previous studies of the ethos of love, and its capacity to produce subjects passionately attached to work, have questioned how it has gained hegemony at a time when workers’ rights and working conditions are deteriorating as a result of neoliberal

policies (for example, Ekman, 2013; Gill and Pratt, 2008; Heelas, 2002; Weeks, 2011).¹ How can we understand how an instrumental approach to work has morphed into a passionate attachment when work causes financial, mental and physical suffering, and hence appears less attractive than ever? Some argue that this counterintuitive and unforeseen development has resulted from glorification of work and the hiding of its dark side behind an ‘emotional and symbolic sheen’ (Gill and Pratt, 2008: 17). Some suggest that workers are engaged in the opportunistic and individualistic pursuit of self-realisation through work (Ekman, 2014), and others believe that life is so subsumed under work that workers cannot imagine alternative ways to organise socio-economic relations (Weeks, 2011: 177-86). However, before engaging further with the literature produced in the context of the Global North, let us briefly consider the conditions under which the post-Fordist ethos gained hegemony in Turkey. These show both significant parallels with and differences from more affluent and industrialised countries that have implemented neoliberal policies.

The first two decades of neoliberalisation (the 1980s and 1990s) in Turkey saw the emergence of a new middle class of professionals, such as bankers, advertisers, managers and engineers. Their jobs necessitated a good level of education, paid well and provided better benefits than those available in the public sector. Private health insurance, generous meal tickets, foreign business trips, bonuses and the like made private-sector employment more appealing, especially during ‘the wage explosion years of 1989-1993’ (Boratav et al., 2000: 22). During that time, as in other growing economies in the Global South but unlike industrialised countries in the Global North, the lower stratum of the Turkish working class benefited from neoliberal policies because the income distribution improved somewhat (Boratav et al., 2000). However, this state of affairs was short-lived.

¹ Neoliberalism refers to ‘in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade’ (Harvey, 2005: 2). It made its way out the academy and became a very influential ideology ‘advocating... the deregulation of business, the privatization of public assets, the reduction of corporate taxes, and the elimination of social welfare programs. It also called for free movement of goods, services, capital, and money’ (Sandıkçı et al., 2016: 305). These have been widely adopted policies across the Global North since 1970s (Harvey, 2005: 1-3). In addition to these policies, neoliberalism works through disempowerment of the working class by destruction of trade unions and undermining of workers’ rights (Harvey, 2005: 53). In other words, it refers to both expropriation of existing wealth which is concentrated in ever fewer hands and deeper exploitation of labour to create more wealth (Hardt and Negri, 2009: 138-9). It is this latter aspect of neoliberalism that I expound in this thesis.

There were massive lay-offs in the private sector in the aftermath of the 1994 economic crisis, and companies further tightened their belts after the crises in 2000 and 2001 (Boratav et al., 2000: 6). Large-scale redundancies were enabled by the virtual absence of unionisation and the inability of the then shrunken and demeaned public sector to absorb skilled labour. Thousands lost their jobs, benefits were eroded and ever fewer opportunities were available to young people. Having jumped from around six per cent to over ten per cent in 2002, the unemployment rate has fluctuated between eight and fourteen per cent ever since (Knomea, 2018). Consequently, well-paid and higher-status workers in Turkey have gradually been joining the ranks of the precariat, as has also been observed in the Global North, especially in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis (Gill and Pratt, 2008: 2).

The most crucial characteristics of neoliberalism common to Turkey and the Global North are deindustrialisation, and growth in the services and finance sectors. Although Turkey's industrial capacity is not comparable with that of Western European countries, changes in the composition of the economy in terms of the share of its constituent sectors reflect the same trend. However, the Turkish experience differs, in that the tourism and restaurant sectors have benefited most from neoliberal restructuring policies, placing them at the forefront of Turkey's neoliberalisation (see Section 3.3). The fine-dining sector, in particular, is a product of neoliberal policies. From investors to consumers, and lately cooks, all its main actors are from the new middle class forged through these policies. While this sector is a product of Turkey's particular path to neoliberalism, it reflects some global trends in post-Fordist countries. First, it illustrates enculturalisation (McRobbie, 2002: 98), or expansion of the cultural and creative industries, engulfing other industries (see Section 5.4). Second, the organisations (especially culinary schools and restaurants) and actors (especially cooks) involved in the sector have embraced the ethos of love over the last two decades (see Chapters 3, 5 and 6). Third, high-end restaurants have been organisationally restructured to become more affectively productive (see Chapter 6). For all these reasons, despite its particularity, the Turkish fine-dining sector is well placed to teach us about post-Fordism, and specifically about the ethos of love and affective labour.

The discourse of love for one's job became hegemonic in Turkey, especially in culinary circles, in the immediate aftermath of the 2001 economic crisis (see Section 3.3). This went against the expectation that capitalist crises would cause

disillusionment with the neoliberal ideology and open up new possibilities for popular resistance against neoliberal capitalism, a view that has long been voiced by prominent post-Fordist theorists such as Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri, Maurizio Lazzarato and Franco ‘Bifo’ Berardi. For example, Berardi (2009: 25) proclaimed that ‘the collapse of the Global Economy following the recent financial crack could be the opening of a new era of autonomy and emancipation for the soul’. Already prevalent in the Global North, it was thought that communicative and cognitive labour would help workers self-organise in non-exploitative, horizontal, participatory ways at work and beyond. From such networks of collaboration and solidarity would emerge a new collective subject, i.e. the multitude, with a ‘desire for liberation’ (Hardt and Negri, 2000: 218). This optimism reached its peak in the first half of the 2010s, when popular protests and occupy movements broke out across the world. Radical social change seemed to be around the corner.

However, organisational studies, the sociology of work and cultural studies have drawn our attention to a counter-current, which is at least as strong as the resistance to neoliberal capitalism. Research in these fields has shown that neoliberalism has not only survived the catastrophes to which it led, but has become ‘a central organizing ethic of society’ (Gill, 2017: 608), despite mounting evidence of its failure (see also Ekman, 2013; Gill and Pratt, 2008; Heelas, 2002; Weeks, 2011). Rather counterintuitively, work has moved to the centre of our lives and identities at the same time as wages and benefits have sharply declined. The last decade, especially, has seen a glorification of work and strengthening of affective attachments to it as never seen before (Gill and Pratt, 2008: 15). Recent research on creative and cultural industries, and academia in particular, report pervasive use of ‘a vocabulary of love’ (Gill and Pratt, 2008: 15) and mental, physical and affective over-exertion at work (Carnera, 2012; Clarke et al., 2012; Conor et al., 2015; Dowling, 2007; Driver, 2017; Ekman, 2013; Gill, 2010; Gill and Pratt, 2008; Gregg, 2009; Guerrier and Adib, 2003; Terranova, 2000). A new ethos of work has emerged in these sectors in the Global North, which has spiralled into a global phenomenon of loving one’s job, also known as ‘do what you love’ (DWYL), passion for work, or labour of love.

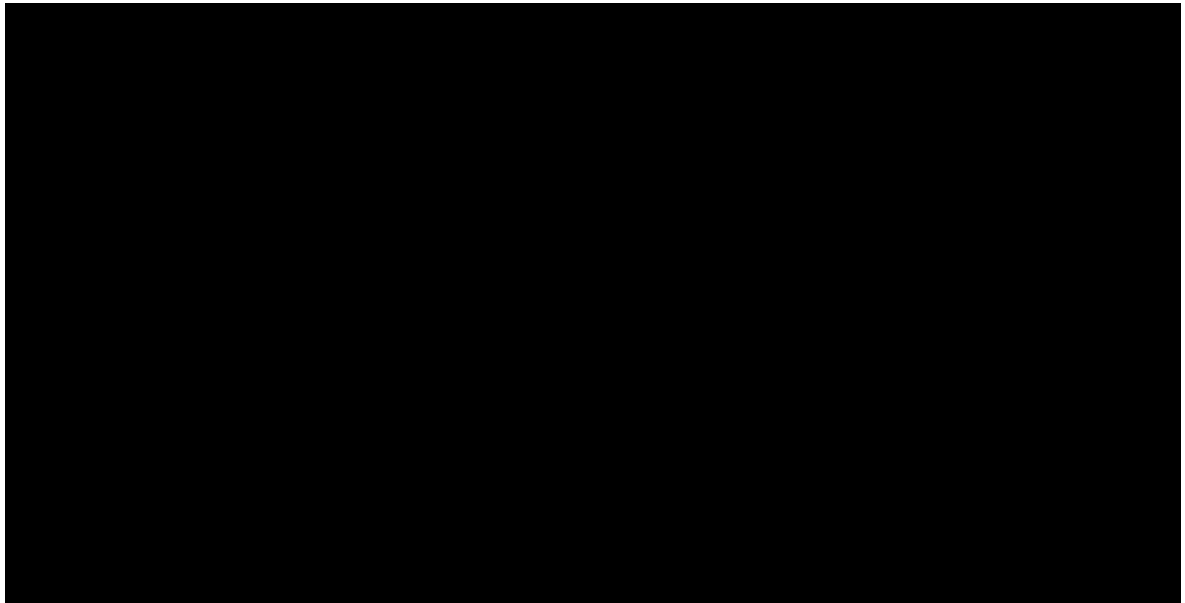


Figure 1: Home page of I Love My Job Ltd., a London-based recruitment company

This emerging literature suggests that the subjects of the Fordist era (from around the 1930s to the 1970s) were disciplined and emotionally disengaged assembly-line workers (Gilbert, 2017: 186) or ‘specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart’ (Weber, 2005: 124). Both capitalists and the working class took an instrumental approach toward work, seeing it as a means for wealth accumulation, property ownership and self-sufficiency. The consent of the working class (i.e. wage earners), whose labour was exploited by capitalists to create surplus value, was gained primarily through remuneration and welfare benefits. When these ties were damaged, if not broken, by neoliberalism from the 1970s onwards, a different kind of attachment between workers and capitalism gained prominence and proved more potent. The post-Fordist subject, who pursues passion, enjoyment, self-realisation and emancipation *through work*, is bound to capitalism through affective investment² (see Madra and Özselçuk, 2010). In this regard, Turkey is no exception, as its fine-dining sector illustrates.

I became interested in researching the sector in the early 2010s when, one after the other, my sister, brother-in-law, flatmate and four of my friends from university decided to become chefs and enrolled in culinary schools. These were all university-

² Affective investment is a psychoanalytical term that denotes ‘the “glue” through which subjects, in their own varying ways, become affixed to an array of practices, objects and experiences’ (Hook, 2018: 119). These may be regimes of power (Butler, 1997), regimes of production (Özselçuk and Madra, 2005), ideologies (Cremin, 2009), discourses (Müller, 2013) or organisational cultures (Roberts, 2005).

educated, middle- or upper-middle-class people with access to white-collar positions. Some were recent graduates from top institutions, and others worked as a shop manager, an auditor and a factory manager. Until then, in my middle-class social milieu, becoming a cook was not just uncommon, but unheard of; and leaving white-collar positions to do so was simply unthinkable. Their choice of career was especially puzzling because the restaurant sector is notorious for poor working conditions, such as overwork, low pay, mobbing, and poor health-and-safety management. White-collar work has tended to be better-paid, less physically demanding and has afforded a higher social status than culinary work, although pay packages have shrunk significantly and job insecurity has become a growing concern since the series of economic crises from 1994.

Preliminary research showed that the sudden surge in the number of my acquaintances attending culinary schools was not coincidental. In fact, culinary schools of all shapes and sizes (foundation university departments, internationally accredited private schools, local workshops, etc.) have mushroomed in Turkey since 2003 (see Section 3.4). Thousands have been trained in these institutions, and have found employment especially at the high end of the sector (for example, at the catering firm for which a job advertisement is shown in Figure 2). Within the space of a decade, self-trained cooks from working-class backgrounds who had dominated the sector for decades had been replaced mainly by educated cooks from middle- and upper-middle-class backgrounds.

I also found through my preliminary research that career changes from white-collar to culinary labour were motivated by people's desire to turn their passion for cooking into their main source of income and to engage in creative work. My interviewees stated that the work was heavy, the pay low and overwork pervasive in the sector, but they pursued culinary work out of love. Their discourse echoed in employers' listings of passion among their top employment criteria in job advertisements (see Figure 2), and in the discourse circulated by culinary schools, which have invested heavily in changing public perceptions of culinary work from low-skilled, dull, blue-collar and undesirable to sophisticated, scientific, well-paid, enjoyable, passionate and creative (see Chapters 3 and 5). Furthermore, according to my interlocutors, a number of culinary-themed movies released in the 2000s (e.g. *Chocolat*, 2000; *Facing Windows*, 2000; *Ratatouille*, 2007; *No Reservations*, 2007; *Alone*, 2008; *Julie and Julia*, 2009) popularised culinary work (see Section 5.2). These

movies portrayed cooks being willing to risk their livelihoods and sacrifice their social lives to pursue their passion. Gastronomy magazines, TV shows, food blogs and other traditional and social media also helped turn the image of the modern cook into that of creative individuals ‘driven by passion to Do What You Love’ (Conor et al., 2015: 2). In short, a whole new cultural apparatus was created by local and international actors, which improved the image of culinary work and workers (see Chapter 5).

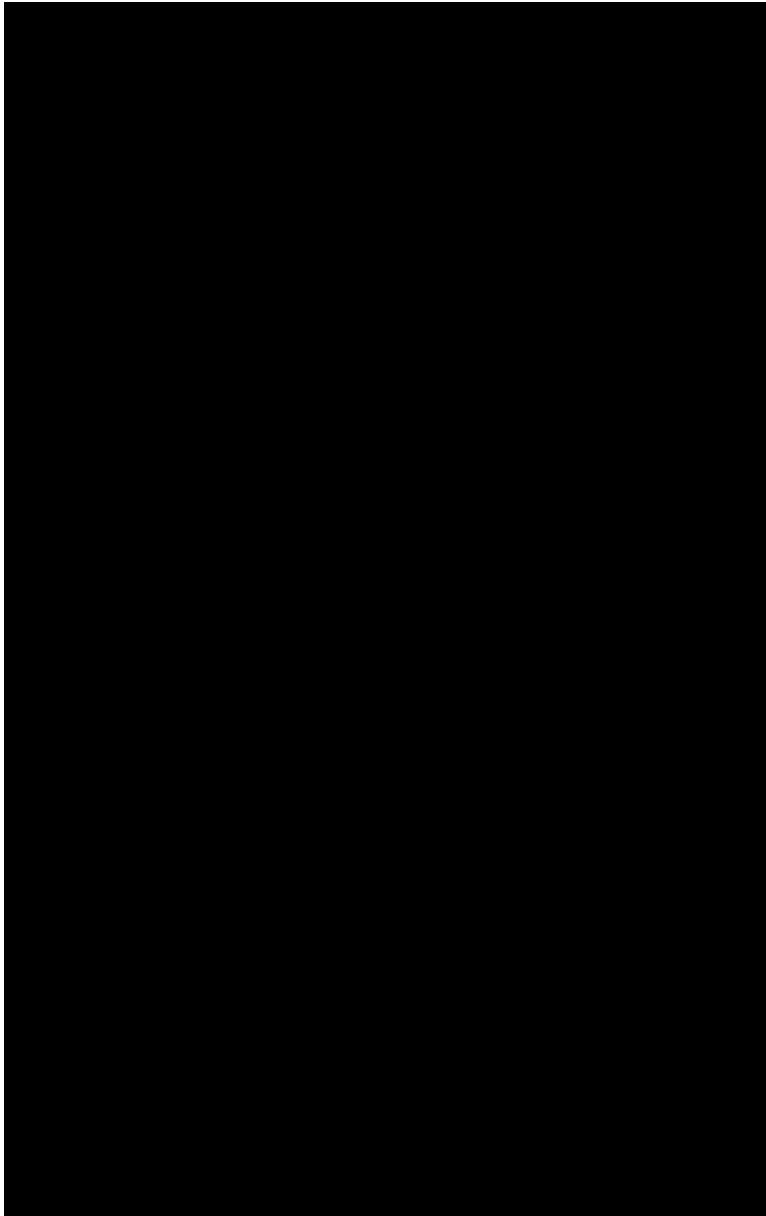


Figure 2: Job advertisement by one of the largest catering companies in Turkey

This was widely publicised after beginning to cater with ‘flying chefs’ on board Turkish Airlines. It is also one of the top employers of educated cooks.

The ethos of love for one’s job led to significant organisational changes in fine-dining restaurants. These are epitomised in a new architectural style known as ‘the

show kitchen', which is a (part-)open kitchen in the dining-room allowing cooks to engage with patrons. It is usually used for eye-catching and aesthetically pleasing tasks, such as appetizer preparation, plating and flambés.³ The cooks in the show kitchen interact with patrons verbally and through embodied performance, and are encouraged to do so by the management (see Section 6.1). With its aesthetic and interactive aspects, the show kitchen turns professional cooking into a type of performance art, provides chefs with an opportunity to perform their passion in front of a curious public, and increases patrons' pleasure in the dining encounter, i.e. produces affect. This empirical link between the ethos of love and affective labour is analysed and theorised in this thesis.

The literature emphasises that the ethos of love enables exploitation at work, but its concrete and context-specific effects on workers' rights, working conditions and employment relations remain unexplored (for example, see Ekman, 2013; Fleming, 2014a; Fotaki et al., 2017: 9; Fotaki and Harding, 2017; Hardt, 1999; Hughes, 2005). It provides a bird's-eye view of this relationship, which does not lend itself to a thorough analysis of conditions on the ground. This thesis establishes links between the post-Fordist ethos and production relations, as manifested in the Turkish fine-dining context, such as deunionisation, the spread of sub-contracting, undercutting of wages, understaffing, gentrification of the workforce, and mental and physical suffering. This is achieved through ethnographic fieldwork carried out in Istanbul, the historical centre of Turkish cuisine and home to leading institutions of the fine-dining, culinary education and media industries that shape Turkey's gastronomic landscape.

The thesis is based on a multi-sited research drawing on theoretical insights from and methodological conventions of ethnographic, psychosocial and organisational traditions (see Chapter 4). Ethnography provided an in-depth understanding of the post-Fordist regime as instituted and lived in this particular context. Multi-sited organisational ethnography allowed me to trace the ethos of love circulating through discourses, images, artefacts and subjects among organisations and organisational subjects, interlinking and shaping them. The psychosocial approach enabled research and analysis of affective attachments to the post-Fordist ethos, the vicissitudes of love (such as ambivalence), the performativity of affective labour, and affective transmission between workers and consumers.

³ Flambé is the culinary technique of creating flames in a hot pan by pouring in alcohol.

I constructed the field processually, following in the footsteps of cooks who loved their jobs, and visiting sites that had played a role in forming and reproducing their desire to pursue culinary work. The fieldwork consisted of three field trips to culinary schools, high-end restaurants and culinary events between June 2012 and December 2017, and desk research on TV shows, movies, magazines, newspapers, blogs and recruitment websites, etc. between June 2012 and September 2018. My data analysis was informed by the Freudian technique of dream interpretation, later taken up by Lacan to analyse discourse. I interpreted idiomatic expressions invoked by interlocutors because their polyvalence allows communication of shared unconscious beliefs and desires (see Section 4.3). For example, in Chapter 5, I interpret *göz mutluluğu* [fulfilment, happiness of the eye] and *aşka gelmek* [to be enraptured, to come to love] to understand the affective pull of contemporary cultural representations of culinary work.

Three methodological contributions emerge from cross-fertilisation between the multi-sited ethnography and psychosocial research: (i) a blueprint for constructing ‘the field’ in a psychoanalytically-informed manner in psychosocial ethnography; (ii) an alternative to adopting clinical techniques such as psychoanalytic supervision and case consultation in psychosocial research; and (iii) a novel take on Lacanian analysis of identification that focuses on the symbolic rather than the imaginary.

In this thesis, I engage primarily with post-Fordist theory, the affective labour debate and psychoanalytically-inflected research, all of which are interdisciplinary fields to which organisation studies have contributed. Post-Fordist theory helps contextualise the phenomenon of loving one’s job within global historical, economic, social and cultural trends. The affective labour debate informs my analysis of the post-Fordist transition in the Turkish culinary sector, the affective dimension of culinary work, and how its performance shapes subjectivity on a day-to-day basis. The psychoanalytically-inflected research informs my analysis of attachment to the post-Fordist ethos, the performative aspect of affective labour and the vicissitudes of loving one’s job.

According to post-Fordist thought, all contemporary organisations rely on immaterial (affective and cognitive) labour to varying degrees for purposes such as customer satisfaction, employee engagement, teamwork and efficiency. Immaterial labour not only organises and sustains modern work, but also produces the most valuable commodities in contemporary markets, such as software, copyrights and

experience, especially in the hospitality, entertainment and tourism sectors. As previously mentioned, Post-Fordist theorists argue that the increased value and strategic importance of immaterial labour lie behind the mobilisation of love for one's job as an ideological, disciplinary and managerialist device (see Fleming, 2014a: 21; Madra and Özselçuk, 2010; Weeks, 2007: 240, 247). Loving one's job is viewed as a means to extract more cognitive and affective productivity from employees. As such, a causal link is established between incorporating 'the worker's soul' (Lazzarato, 1996: 133) into capitalist production, and increased dependence on cognitive and affective labour for profit making. Nevertheless, post-Fordist theory does not empirically demonstrate or theoretically elaborate on this link. It does not have the psychosocial edifice needed to substantiate frequently employed concepts such as 'soul' (Lazzarato, 1996: 133), 'affective life of the subject' (Weeks, 2007: 241), 'affective investment' (Balance, 2012: 145) and 'investment of desire' (Ducey, 2007:198). This thesis contributes to the post-Fordist literature by examining and theorising love and the production of affect as mutually reinforcing psychosocial phenomena.

The affective labour debate focuses on forms of labour that produce wellbeing, joy and sociality. This type of labour is often associated with the care, catering and entertainment industries, but is also key to organisational and social cooperation, network formation and reproduction of labour power in any sector (Bryson and Dempsey, 2017; Carnera, 2012; Dowling, 2007, 2016; Hardt, 1999; McRobbie, 2010). Expansion of the services sector, growth in the experience economy and privatisation of caring in recent decades has brought this type of labour to the forefront of economic value creation in post-Fordist countries (including Turkey), and has inspired lively debate (for example, see Dowling, 2007, 2016; Ducey, 2007; Hardt, 1999; Weeks, 2007; Wissinger, 2007). Nevertheless, the working definition of affective labour as 'a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement, passion' (Hardt, 1999: 96) does not state who performs this type of labour and how. Certain attributes of affective labour such as being gendered, playing a central role in reproduction and requiring emotion management are extensively debated and theorised (Dalla Costa, 2007; Fortunati, 2007; Hochschild, 1983; Rose, 1983; Weeks, 2007). However, other aspects of affective labour are largely neglected, such as demanding emotional engagement (love, passion, care, etc.), performativity, and requiring virtual or actual human contact (also see Hardt, 1999; Hochschild, 1983; Rose, 1983; Weeks, 2007). This thesis

studies such attributes of affective labour through the ethnographic material, and offers a new conceptualisation by deploying psychoanalytically-inflected theories.

Unlike previous affective labour research, which treats affect as a pre- or non-cognitive, automatic, unmediated bodily response to an encounter (see Ducey, 2007; Wissinger, 2007), this thesis conceptualises affect as part of a non-binary body–discourse continuum, and its production as a process mediated by images and discourses (see Chapters 2, 4, 5 and 6). This allows me to demonstrate and theorise how ‘love for one’s job’ is performed as part of affective labour and creates surplus value.

Psychoanalytically-inflected organisational research has closely studied the psychic mechanisms behind affective attachment to work and ideologies and discourses of work (see Bicknell and Liefoghe, 2010; Böhm and Batta, 2010; Cremin, 2009; Driver, 2017; Ekman, 2013; Kenny, 2010; Müller, 2013; Roberts, 2005). It has been argued that affective investment in one’s job, professional identity or organisational role constitutes a worker subjectivity that willingly participates in exploitative production relations, while the affective rewards of performing a job passionately help normalise unfavourable working conditions and make them tolerable (Ekman, 2013; Fotaki et al., 2017: 9; Fotaki and Harding, 2017). This line of thinking helps explain affective attachments to the post-Fordist ethos, but attributes a different rationale to the ‘colonisation of workers’ affects and subjectivities’ (Hughes, 2005: 606). Behind the ethos of love, it sees not a drive to further exploit workers’ affective capacities, but a desire to manufacture consent for exploitative work practices. It thus highlights the ideological function of the ethos in reproducing capitalism, rather than its deployment for the purpose of intensifying exploitation (i.e. appropriating value created by workers). Finally, psychoanalysis provides the most elaborate theory of love, explicating its ambivalent and contradictory nature (for example, see Freud, 1909, 1915, 1950, 2003; Hook, 2011: 112-3; Lacan, 1998; Troha, 2017). This is useful for understanding how both strong affective attachments to and deep resentments toward post-Fordist work were harboured by my interlocutors.

The thesis contributes to the psychoanalytically-inflected literature by differentiating between *symbolic* identification with the post-Fordist ethos and *imaginary* identification with organisational and occupational roles. This differentiation is important, because the former not only reproduces organisational and social structures but also incrementally changes them, whereas the latter has only a

reproductive function. This thesis argues that the overdeterminism for which earlier Lacanian organisational research has been criticised (see Dashtipour and Vidaillet, 2017: 21-2) results from its over-emphasis on imaginary identification (see Chapter 2). By interpreting *symbolic* identification, the thesis reveals space for agency in psychosocial relations, in this case in how subjects engage with the post-Fordist ethos. The thesis further elaborates on this by deploying the concept of ambivalence. It draws attention to the ‘messiness’ of affective attachments resulting from the split nature of the psyche, which cannot be reduced to self-defeating irrational behaviour, as some previous studies seem to suggest. Finally, the literature is enriched through engagement with the affective labour debate, which is without precedent in psychoanalytically-inflected research.

In summary, this thesis stages an encounter between post-Fordist theory, the affective labour debate and the psychoanalytically-inflected literature in order to explore both sides of post-Fordist affect (affective investment in work and affective labour), between which empirical connections have been overlooked in the literature owing to a theoretical divide. It contributes to all three literatures by exploring: (i) the cultural apparatuses that establish the hegemony of the ethos of love; (ii) how subjects embrace and act on this ethos, especially as they perform affective labour; (iii) the effect of loving one’s job on affective productivity and motivation; (iv) the effect of loving one’s job on mental and physical wellbeing; and (v) the nature of the love in question.

This allows me to shift the focus from the motivations of organisations or capitalists to that of workers, and to acknowledge the latter’s agency in engaging with the ethos of love. Why do workers bring their passion to work rather than pursuing it in their free time? Is this voluntary servitude, or a desperate attempt to take some pleasure from a life subsumed under capitalism? Do they struggle to imagine a post-capitalist, non-exploitative, yet productive world? In addressing these questions, the thesis provides a better understanding of day-to-day reification, embodiment and reproduction of post-Fordism as well as the place of affect in surplus value creation and ideological support for post-Fordism.

Chapter 2 reviews the post-Fordist theory, the affective labour debate and the psychosocial (especially psychoanalytically-inflected) literature in organisation studies and beyond. It looks at their theoretical sources, main concerns and contributions, and highlights how they inform our understanding of post-Fordism, the

ethos of love, the vicissitudes of love and affective labour. Throughout the chapter, I pay particular attention to how each of these theories approaches subjectivity and structure-agency dynamics, which shape their perspectives on affective and psychosocial life. Finally, I discuss gaps and contradictions, and how these are addressed in this thesis.

Chapter 3 introduces the historical, political, economic and social background against which the ethos of love and affective labour have become hegemonic in the Turkish fine-dining sector. It looks at the emergence and development of the restaurant sector in Turkey, showing continuities, ruptures and incremental changes that have given it its current shape. On the one hand, there are organisational structures that have endured since pre-modern times (e.g. culinary specialisms, promotions and recruitment practices), and on the other, rapid changes have been induced by neoliberal economic policies (e.g. government incentives for investment in the hospitality sector and internationally-financed hospitality education) and post-Fordism (e.g. the discourse of love for culinary work and show kitchens). Rather than establishing historical facts, the chapter seeks to familiarise the reader with the context, and to capture some of the complexity produced by the interplay between local, national, global, economic, social and historical forces.

Chapter 4 discusses the research methodology, which is built on multi-sited organisational ethnography and psychosocial methods. Although the former informed the fieldwork and the latter influenced the data analysis in particular, the whole research process, including writing, benefited from both. The chapter discusses how multi-sited organisational ethnography enabled ‘love for one’s job’ to be traced across organisations in both virtual forms such as discourse and imagery, and physical forms such as performances, bodies and artefacts, and how psychoanalytically-informed methods provided a means to interpret affective attachments to the ethos of love and its performance as part of affective labour. It also explains the methodological innovation made in order to analyse symbolic identifications, i.e. interpretation of idiomatic expressions. It is argued that idioms provide insights into unconscious thoughts and desires because they give these away through their polyvalence, while also making it possible to approach the unconscious from a social angle.

Based on this groundwork, Chapter 5 inquires how people are lured to post-Fordist work in the Turkish fine-dining context. It studies the emergence of a new representational apparatus that glorifies culinary work and subsumes it within the

cultural and creative industries. This apparatus, it is argued, has immaterialised and gentrified culinary work by attracting the university-educated middle class in search of creative, fulfilling careers. The chapter takes the reader on a gastro-culinary tour of high-end restaurants, culinary schools and media by following those who bring their passion to work. It interprets the identification of middle-class, university-educated subjects with new representations of culinary work by analysing discourse, artefacts and performance.

Chapter 6 discusses the place of psyche in affective production. It looks at how fine-dining restaurants reify the ethos of love in their interior architecture, especially in show kitchens; how cooks perform their symbolic identifications (with the ethos of love) and imaginary identifications (with role models and cultural images); and how this performance elicits affective responses from patrons. It is argued that affective transmission between producers and consumers does not emerge from unmediated contact between bodies, as Spinozist affective labour theorists claim, but is mediated through the imaginary and symbolic registers of the psyche. Thereby, it demonstrates and theorises an empirical link between the post-Fordist ethos and affective labour by deploying psychoanalysis and psychoanalytically-inflected social theory.

Having presented and interpreted the research findings, Chapter 7 revisits post-Fordist theory, the affective labour debate and the psychosocial literature. Of particular concern here is how these approach the contradiction of loving jobs that cause suffering, and where affective labour stands in relation to this painful attachment. This discussion expounds the contradictions and gaps in these literatures. The chapter then goes on to consider new ways of thinking about the affectivity of post-Fordist work, developed in this thesis through exchanges between these three approaches and learning from the ethnographic research.

Finally, Chapter 8 summarises the thesis and reiterates its contributions to the literature. It also reflects on the research and considers its limitations. For example, the new methodology designed by drawing on psychosocial studies, affective labour research and organisational ethnography -all of which are relatively new fields themselves- is retrospectively re-evaluated and suggestions are made for its improvement in future studies. There is also a discussion of the necessity for more research on attributes of affective labour, its relationship with the post-Fordist ethos of love, and the vicissitudes of loving one's job.

Chapter 2: A Psychoanalytically-Inflected Approach to the Post-Fordist Ethos and Affective Labour

This thesis has three main theoretical pillars: post-Fordist theory, the affective labour debate and psychoanalytically-inflected (psychosocial) studies. In this chapter, I review these three literatures and discuss how they informed my research. I also identify gaps and immanent contradictions which are addressed later in this thesis. These theories have all been developed through interdisciplinary exchanges, and organisational scholars have engaged with them all to varying degrees. Therefore, I discuss organisational research as integral to each, highlighting its specific focus, contribution, gaps and weaknesses where relevant.

Post-Fordist theory helps me contextualise the phenomenon of loving one's job within global historical, economic and cultural trends (see Chapters 3 and 5). It draws attention to a systemic shift in capitalist production that has brought immaterial (i.e. affective and cognitive) labour to a hegemonic position. It also shows that immaterialisation of the economy has enabled the ethos of love common in the creative and cultural industries to spread to other sectors (see Chapter 5), thereby laying foundations for the empirical and theoretical links between the post-Fordist ethos and affective labour with which this thesis is concerned.

The affective labour debate informs my analysis of the post-Fordist transition in the Turkish culinary sector in terms of who produces, and what and how they produce (see Chapters 3, 5 and 6). Based on this debate, I argue that culinary work has gained an affective dimension with the adoption of the show kitchen trend and other managerial strategies to increase interaction between cooks and patrons (see Chapter 6). I also adopt the insight that organisations whose main output is affect tend to recruit workers who fit a certain profile (middle-class, well-educated, presentable, female, etc.) in order to increase productivity (see Chapters 3, 5 and 6). I particularly value its emphasis on the role of affective labour in reproducing people and constituting subjectivities. The affective labour debate focuses on the role of everyday acts and actions in subject formation, rather than, for example, passionate attachments to ideologies or the effects of discourse.

Psychoanalytically-inflected research informs my analysis of the vicissitudes of loving one's job (see Chapter 6). Psychoanalysis provides an elaborate theory of love that accounts for its inherent contradictions and ambivalence, helping me to

understand my interlocutors' professed love for their work, despite suffering, weariness, anger, etc. (see Chapter 6). It also explicates the psychic and affective mechanisms of attachment to the post-Fordist ethos (see Chapters 4, 5 and 6). Its Lacanian strand achieves this, in particular, through a non-binary ontology that considers society/culture and the individual to be implicated in, constituted by and constitutive of each other. Finally, it helps me reconceptualise affective labour as a performance mediated by discourse and image (see Chapters 5 and 6). In doing so, I distance my approach from the common understanding of affective labour as an unmediated bodily encounter that automatically creates pre-conscious affective responses. This allows me to show how the post-Fordist ethos is put to work in the performance of affective labour, helps create surplus value and is reinforced by the satisfaction gained from this type of work (see Chapter 6).

Section 2.1 introduces post-Fordist theory, its philosophical sources, and definitions of Fordism and post-Fordism. It then discusses the material changes that capitalism has undergone in transitioning to post-Fordism, such as the growth of immaterial production, increased precarity, and work intensification and extensification.⁴ Next, social, cultural and ideological changes that have taken place against this backdrop are discussed, such as the emergence of the post-Fordist ethos. Having provided an overview of post-Fordist theory, this section turns to its adherents from Organisation Studies who have been especially attracted to the idea that the boundaries of work, workplace and worktime are disappearing under post-Fordism. Finally, I look at the limitations of post-Fordist theory pertaining, in particular, to analysis of the post-Fordist ethos, its role in the psychic constitution of subjects and the study of affective labour.

Section 2.2 briefly introduces the Marxist-feminist literature and emotional labour theory, which underpin the affective labour debate, underlining their respective contributions. It then defines affective labour and discusses its attributes (e.g. requiring human contact, mediation through images and discourse, performativity), drawing on the named literatures. This is followed by a critique of existing literature, focusing especially on (i) the inherent contradiction in the debate which argues that affective labour is an unmediated bodily contact even when performed virtually, i.e.

⁴ Work intensification refers to increasing workload and the obligation to do more work in less time, while work extensification means overflow of work to areas of life formerly free of its grip (Ashcraft, 2017: 38-9).

when technological, audiovisual or discursive mediums are employed, (ii) the under-theorisation of affective labour's performative nature, and (iii) the gap pertaining to the empirical link between the post-Fordist ethos of love and affective labour.

Section 2.3 begins with an overview of the psychosocial field, which is divided into two main categories: Spinozist-Deleuzian and psychoanalytically-inflected. First, having already discussed Spinozist-Deleuzian psychosocial studies throughout the chapter since it informs the other two theoretical pillars of the thesis, I review aspects of post-Fordism and affective labour which fall on their blind spot. I then turn to psychoanalytically-inflected theory and research which, I argue, helps address these issues. The unique strengths of (especially Freudian and Lacanian) psychoanalysis are discussed. These include providing a theory of the split subject torn between unconscious and conscious selves, a well-developed theory of love that highlights its ambivalence, and a non-binary ontology that enables a nuanced understanding of structure–agency dynamics. Subsequently, the discussion concentrates on the issue of attachment to the post-Fordist ethos, and how organisational scholars have mobilised the psychoanalytical concept of 'identification' to explain this. Here, I criticise their exclusive focus on imaginary identifications, which reproduce existing social roles, and propose that we also consider symbolic identification, which both sustains and incrementally changes social norms.

The chapter concludes by examining the implications of staging an encounter between these three bodies of social thought. Section 3.5 focuses specifically on the contribution to our understanding of the relationship between the post-Fordist ethos and affective labour as they produce organisational subjects and economic value.

2.1 Post-Fordist theory

Post-Fordist theory is the study of contemporary capitalism through the prism of work, or 'the technical composition of labor to ascertain who produces, what they produce, and how they produce' (Hardt and Negri, 2009: 131). It is named after two historical periods of 20th and 21st century capitalism: Fordism (1910s–1970s) and post-Fordism (1970s–present). It argues that changes in the organisation of work from the 1970s onwards are the root causes of systemic changes in capitalist production relations, which have had drastic effects on the global distribution of wealth, the global division of labour, the sectoral composition of national economies at the macro level, and

workers' lives and subjectivities at the micro level. In summary, it wages a critique against capitalism based on an analysis of contemporary work regimes.

This section introduces the theoretical sources of post-Fordist thought, describes Fordism and post-Fordism, discusses original insights brought by post-Fordist theory to the study of work, labour and capitalism, reviews post-Fordist organisational research, and identifies gaps in the post-Fordist literature addressed by this thesis.

The post-Fordist literature is built on the works of a wide range of social and political theorists, including André Gorz (Hardt and Negri, 2009; Weeks, 2011), Baruch Spinoza (see Hardt, 1999, 2005; Hardt and Negri, 2009), Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (see Hardt and Negri, 2004, 2009; Lazzarato, 2006), Hannah Arendt (see Hardt and Negri, 2009; Virno, 2004; Muehlebach, 2011), Karl Marx (see Hardt, 2005; Hardt and Negri, 2000, 2004, 2009; Lazzarato, 1996, 2006; Weeks, 2011), Max Weber (see Weeks, 2011), Michel Foucault (see Hardt and Negri, 2009; Lazzarato, 2006; Madra and Özselçuk, 2010) and Marxist feminist authors (for example, Hardt, 1999, 2005; McRobbie, 2010; Muehlebach, 2011; Weeks, 2011). In addition to these philosophers and sociologists, valuable contributions have been made to the literature by cultural studies (for example, Banks, 2007; Gill and Pratt, 2008; McRobbie, 2010) and organisation studies (for example, Ekman, 2014; Fleming, 2014a; Gabriel, 2014; Mumby, 2016; Peticca-Harris et al., 2015). While the wide variety of streams feeding into post-Fordist theory makes it challenging to provide a meaningful overview, I attempt to do so by focusing on common themes explored by post-Fordist scholars and examining what differentiates their work from other critical theories of contemporary capitalism.

Fordism takes its name from the assembly-line technique of industrial production invented and implemented in Henry Ford's car manufacturing business in the US in 1913 (Gabriel et al., 2015: 632). This technological development is said to have determined the technical composition of labour from the 1910s to the 1960s. The defining features of Fordism were mass production and consumption, high employment, high wages, labour unions, job security, and 9-to-5 working days with clear work–leisure boundaries (Hardt and Negri, 2000, 2004, 2009; McRobbie, 2010; Muehlebach, 2011; Muehlebach and Shoshan, 2012; Weeks, 2011). Under Fordism, workers in industrialised countries enjoyed high levels of job security, combined with social security nets provided by the welfare state (McRobbie, 2010; Muehlebach, 2011; Muehlebach and Shoshan, 2012; Weeks, 2011). While white males were the

main beneficiaries of the Fordist production regime, scholars argue that Fordism affected the whole population, as it operated as a paradigm across institutions. Thus, the Fordism/post-Fordism periodisation is based not on the volume of manufacturing production, but on the breadth and depth of its impact on economic, social and cultural life, reaching well beyond the factory walls.

Factory work demanded a level of discipline that turned people into an appendage to the machine, as depicted in Charlie Chaplin's iconic film, *Modern Times* (1936). The 'disciplinary paradigm' that emerged in the factory became hegemonic across a range of modern institutions, such as prisons, schools, the military and hospitals (Hardt and Negri, 2004: 142). It was also instilled in the workers' psyche by elevating work to the level of the 'highest calling and moral duty' (Weeks, 2011: 99). Social recognition and participation in public life became conditional on employment (Muehlebach, 2011). On the other hand, the Fordist normative order aimed to subsume the private sphere from its very inception. 'A set of moral imperatives that demanded that workers spend these wages rationally and consume, live, love, eat, and clean in particular ways' (Muehlebach and Shoshan, 2012: 321) was introduced by Henry Ford and policed by 'hundreds of investigators from his Sociological Department' (Muehlebach and Shoshan, 2012: 321) whom he sent to workers' homes.

Secure, well-paid jobs and welfare provisions provided the conditions of possibility for workers to expect linear progress in their lives, in terms of both wealth accumulation and career. Therefore, most wage earners could aspire to a middle-class life under Fordism (Muehlebach and Shoshan, 2012: 332, 336). This aspiration, and the secular asceticism intrinsic to the Fordist work ethic, also known as 'the Protestant work ethic' (see Weber, 2005; Weeks, 2011: 99), gave birth to 'a projected futurity – expressed in the register of hope – over the here and-now' (Muehlebach and Shoshan, 2012: 334). Fordist subjects would work hard and abstain from enjoyment for the sake of a prosperous future for themselves and their families (Muehlebach and Shoshan, 2012: 334).

It should be noted that the perception of Fordism as prosperous and secure does not reflect the lived experiences of non-industrialised societies, and only partially reflects conditions in industrialising countries such as Turkey. Nor does it take into account the fact that women and ethnic minorities were largely excluded from the Fordist workforce in industrialised countries (McRobbie, 2010; Muehlebach and Shoshan, 2012). Fordist production relied on women's unpaid domestic labour for

reproduction of the workforce, resulting in the moralism and disciplinary control over the private sphere mentioned above (McRobbie, 2010; Muehlebach and Shoshan, 2012). Nevertheless, an idealised image of Fordism shapes imaginaries of national and individual prosperity to this day (Muehlebach and Shoshan, 2012: 336). Fordism is also used as a benchmark by critical scholars studying contemporary conditions of work, because it is believed to be the highest point ever reached in terms of workers' rights, wages, and living and working conditions (for example, see Fleming, 2014a: 29).

Fordism gave way to post-Fordism as immaterial production gradually replaced manufacturing as the hegemonic economic activity, especially in industrialised countries (Lazzarato, 1996). Immaterial production is an umbrella term for cognitive and affective production (Hardt and Negri, 2009: 132). Here, immaterial refers to the intangibility or invisibility of the outputs, not of the labouring process or the means of production (Hardt, 1999: 94, 96). A range of sectors fall under this category, including cultural and creative industries, finance, entertainment, care, research, IT, retail and hospitality. However, the hegemony of immaterial production refers not to the proportion of these sectors in contemporary economies – although immaterial production certainly constitutes the larger share of activities in service-led economies such as Turkey and the UK – but to the fact that it has come to shape or determine post-Fordist material production, property relations, socio-cultural life and subjectivities, as manufacturing did in the previous era (Fleming, 2014a: 5, 34; Hardt and Negri, 2004: 107-9; Hardt and Negri, 2009: 132).

Prominent post-Fordist theorists, Hardt and Negri propose three strands of evidence for this hegemony. First, employment trends show that the fastest-growing occupations in recent years have been those requiring immaterial labour, such as 'food servers, salespersons, computer engineers, teachers, and health workers' (Hardt and Negri, 2004: 114; see also Gabriel et al., 2015: 630). Second, material production is adopting the characteristics of immaterial production, such as informatisation of agriculture, automation of logistics, and increased reliance on communication in all industries. Third, social and political organisations, such as open-source software development, social movements and terrorist organisations, are adopting the networked, temporary, rhizomatic forms of organisation typical of immaterial production (Hardt and Negri, 2004: 114-5; see also Gabriel et al., 2015: 632; Wissinger, 2007: 252). This thesis supports especially the first and the second of these

claims. There has been a sharp increase in the popularity of culinary work, recruitment to the sector and the number of cookery schools, as well as exponential growth in the hospitality industry since the 1980s in Turkey (see Section 3.4). Chapter 6 discusses the addition of an affective labour dimension to professional cooking, which previously relied on menial labour, and the rising prominence of affective labour in surplus value creation with the introduction of show kitchens in restaurants.

This study of the Turkish fine-dining sector provides further evidence of the immaterialisation of capitalist production. Chapter 5 shows that the discourse of ‘love for one’s job’, which has emerged in the creative and cultural industries, has become the hegemonic ethos of post-Fordism. Chapters 5 and 6 discuss how increased valorisation of creativity has led to a glorification of culinary work and the formation of passionate attachments to it, which in turn have caused drastic changes to who pursues this profession (replacement of self-trained lower-class cooks with educated middle-class cooks), how they perform culinary labour (from preparing food backstage to performing passion and creativity for an audience in the show kitchen), and the product of culinary labour (from the material commodity of food to the immaterial commodity of ‘the dining experience’). These changes in the technical composition of culinary labour in Turkey provide an opportunity to study the psychic mechanisms and affective dynamics of immaterialisation.

Post-Fordist theorists argue that post-Fordism has extended its influence over all spheres of life (social, cultural, natural/biological, affective, psychic, etc.) thanks to certain qualities of immaterial production. First, immaterial production often takes place outside the traditional spatio-temporal boundaries of the workplace and worktime, through organisational practices such as freelancing, co-working, hot desking, home-offices and prosumption (see Cova et al., 2015; Gabriel et al., 2015; Hardt and Negri, 2004: 105; Mumby, 2016; Virno, 1996).⁵ In this type of work, labour is measured by and remunerated according to output (Carls, 2007: 49), not labour time (Fleming, 2014a: 25). Project-based, temporary contracts (e.g. software development, art projects, film and TV production) are also increasingly common, and workers frequently move from one workplace to another (Ekman, 2014; Peticca-Harris et al., 2015; Wissinger, 2007). Many in these industries engage in more than one work task

⁵ ‘Prosumption’ refers to production of value or valuable commodities (e.g. online data) through the act of consumption (see Cova et al., 2015).

at a time, which requires mobility even during the working day or week. According to post-Fordist theorists, these work arrangements have given birth to a nomadic workforce that escapes the disciplinary control of Fordist institutions (Ekman, 2014; Mumby, 2016: 892; Virno, 1996: 248-9).

Under post-Fordism, ‘the worker is to be responsible for his or her own control and motivation within the work group without a foreman needing to intervene’ (Lazzarato, 1996: 135). Nevertheless, the withering of spatio-temporal boundaries of work has paradoxically allowed capitalism to sweep through autonomous spaces and time for non-work, engulfing life in its totality (Fleming, 2014a: 2; Hardt and Negri, 2004: 111-2; Mumby, 2016: 897; Wissinger, 2007: 254-6). Home has become a place of production, cafés have spaces dedicated to work and study, social networks are mobilised for business and work purposes, free time is used to solve cognitive tasks, dreams inspire business innovation, and so on (see also Fleming, 2014a: 1-10; Hoedemaekers, 2018: 1361-2; Wissinger, 2007: 254-5).

In addition to the disappearance of boundaries around workplace and worktime, the ‘real subsumption of labor within capital’ (Hardt and Negri, 2009: 142) is facilitated by the production of ‘cultural and artistic standards, fashions, tastes, consumer norms, and, more strategically, public opinion’ (Lazzarato, 1996: 132) through immaterial labour (see also Mumby, 2016). Immaterial labour productively consumes the commons (language, software, culture, social networks, etc.), which are both raw materials for and products of it (Hardt, 2004: 148; Hoedemaekers, 2018: 1362, 1366). Its very operation enmeshes the economic and the organisational with the social, the scientific, the cultural, the political, and so on. As such, it has immediate ideological effects and unparalleled influence over subject formation. It shapes the psychic and affective lives of individuals, as well as forming collective subjectivities.

This ability to penetrate psychic and affective life is crucial for surplus value creation under post-Fordism, because immaterial products (e.g. software, copyrights, the service experience) are today’s most profitable assets. Post-Fordist theorists argue that immaterial production demands ‘the worker’s soul’ (Lazzarato, 1996: 133) for increased motivation, creativity and affective productivity (Dowling, 2007: 121; Gabriel et al., 2015: 633; Mumby, 2016: 887, 898; Peticca-Harris et al., 2015: 574). Movies, literature, newspapers, social media and schools circulate sugar-coated representations of ‘working lives that, without this emotional and symbolic sheen, might appear arduous, tiring and exploitative’ (Gill and Pratt, 2008: 17; see also

Hoedemaekers, 2018: 1367; Peticca-Harris et al., 2015: 574). As such, cultural and creative industries have played a key role in making the post-Fordist ethos of love for one's job hegemonic, as explored in Chapter 5. Under post-Fordism, work is so romanticised and glorified that we have almost forgotten that it is an economic exchange between employer and employed (Fleming, 2014a: 10).

The ethos of love provides the psychic and affective underpinnings for the post-Fordist labour regime, which entails 'flexible, mobile, and precarious labor relations' (Hardt and Negri, 2004: 112; see also Wissinger, 2007: 256). Post-Fordist authors argue that immaterial labourers' desire for autonomy from Fordist institutions, creative production (Terranova, 2000: 36) and enjoyment at work have led to 'extremely high levels of self-exploitation' (Virno, 1996: 249; see also Ekman, 2014: 154; Fleming, 2014a: 2; Hoedemaekers, 2018: 1368; Woodward and Lea, 2010: 163). Satisfaction derived from work is slowly replacing wages as acceptable remuneration, eradicating the notion of a fair wage that emerged through centuries of workers' struggles (for a discussion, see Dowling, 2016; for empirical examples, see Bryson and Dempsey, 2017: 602; Conor et al., 2015: 2; Driver, 2017: 624; Ducey, 2007: 194; Ekman, 2014: 145; Peticca-Harris et al., 2015: 572, 574; Warhurst and Nickson, 2007: 191). As demonstrated in Chapter 6, post-Fordism has created a new form of asceticism which demands that workers sacrifice their lives and renounce remuneration for work in order to be able to pursue their passion at work. The dark side of 'loving one's job' is 'sacrificial labour' (Gregg, 2009: 209-11), which taxes mental and physical wellbeing (also see Ekman, 2014: 154; Fleming, 2014a: 3-4; Peticca-Harris et al., 2015: 572, 580).

Previous research has shown that the post-Fordist ethos has been effective in shaping subjectivities. Post-Fordist workers are averse to the dutiful, soulless asceticism of the Fordist work ethic, yet they are much more invested in their work than Fordist workers. They are 'driven by passion to Do What You Love (DWYL), prepared to work for long hours for little or even no pay, and requiring minimal support' (Conor et al., 2015: 2; see also Peticca-Harris et al., 2015: 574; Wissinger, 2007: 255). Research on the creative industries and academia, in particular, reports pervasive use of 'a vocabulary of love' (Gill and Pratt, 2008: 15) and mental, physical and affective over-exertion at work (Carnera, 2012; Clarke et al., 2012; Conor et al., 2015; Dowling, 2007; Driver, 2017; Ekman, 2013, 2014; Gill, 2010; Gill and Pratt,

2008; Gregg, 2009; Guerrier and Adib, 2003; Peticca-Harris et al., 2015; Terranova, 2000).

Although it remains largely marginal, post-Fordist thought has gained some traction among critical scholars in Organisation Studies (for example, see Arvidsson, 2007; Ekman, 2014; Fleming, 2014a; Gabriel et al., 2015; Mumby, 2016; Peticca-Harris et al., 2015). These researchers have built their work especially around the idea that the boundary between work and non-work is disappearing under post-Fordism. Gabriel et al. (2015) draw attention to how organisations make profits from consumers' unpaid and even unwitting participation in production, for example by generating user data, crowdsourcing information and engaging in self-service. These practices allow organisations to 'outsource parts of their work to consumers' (Gabriel et al., 2015: 638), blurring the boundary between consumption and work. Mumby (2016) examines how society's communicative capacities are subsumed by branding under capitalism in order to produce surplus value. This may occur through training employees to embody and perform brand principles outside the workplace, appropriation of brand logos and slogans by the general public, or capitalising on socially-created culture and communication, all of which increase brand value (Mumby, 2016: 889). Branding thus helps blur the boundaries between the economic realm and its 'positive externalities', which is defined as 'social wealth created outside the direct productive process, the value of which can be captured only in part by capital' (Hardt and Negri, 2004: 147). For example, Arvidsson researched a highly publicised marketing campaign in Copenhagen to show how event marketing appropriates 'the creativity of a particular social group – the local "underground scene"' as 'a productive externality in its own right, a source of "free labour"' (2007: 10-11). He argues that traditional advertising agencies have recently been replaced by event bureaus which, contrary to popular thinking, do not carry out any creative work themselves, but organise and mobilise creative networks and individuals in a way that facilitates extraction of value from their unpaid and unrecognised labour (2007: 13-14).

The disappearance of the boundaries of the workplace and worktime has also attracted a great deal of attention from organisational scholars. For example, Peticca-Harris et al. (2015: 581) emphasise that 'extreme working conditions are a core feature of the game industry' where overwork is epidemic. According to these authors, game developers' love for their jobs makes them more vulnerable to exploitation. They

demand less remuneration and have a tendency to make self-sacrifices in order to pursue their passion, which is strengthened by ‘the neo-normative control mechanisms of the deadline and individualized angst about career prospects and employability’ (2015: 574-575).

So-called neo-normative control and ‘self-exploitation’ are popular themes in the post-Fordist organisational literature (for example, see Ekman, 2014: 154; Fleming, 2014b: 884; Hoedemaekers, 2018: 1368; Woodward and Lea, 2010: 163), as well as cultural studies of post-Fordism (Banks, 2007: 43; Gill and Pratt, 2008: 17; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011: 34; Ray, 2007: 112). It is argued that, under post-Fordism, external managerial demands are replaced by an internal drive to perform, produce and create (Ekman, 2014: 143). This affective disposition finds its expression in the DWYL discourse (Conor et al., 2015: 2; Peticca-Harris et al., 2015: 574) and over-exertion at work. Nevertheless, the post-Fordist literature goes no further than to make this observation and provide descriptive accounts of loving one’s job and its link with the normalisation of post-Fordist working conditions.

The lack of a rigorous empirical study of the post-Fordist ethos of love is a crucial gap in the post-Fordist literature. While cultural studies contributing to the post-Fordist literature have shown that it first emerged in the cultural and creative industries, its spread across sectors and socio-political contexts remains largely unexplored. In Chapters 3 and 5, I discuss the media through which the discourse of love is circulated and the actors who play a key role in this process. Although my focus on the Turkish culinary sector does not present a universal picture – which I believe would be impossible in a single study – it does illustrate some global trends in the ideology of work, their direction of travel (for example, by exploring the role of the film and TV industry), and how they are articulated with local discourses and representations (for example, in the national media, schools and workplaces). Thus, the first contribution of this thesis to the post-Fordist literature is an evidence-based account of the processes through which the post-Fordist ethos has become hegemonic.

Second, the post-Fordist literature does not explain how people become attached to these ideological images and discourses, or why they are so effective in shaping our psychic and affective lives. Does the reason for post-Fordist workers’ self-sacrificial disposition toward work lie in their inability to see beyond the ‘emotional and symbolic sheen’ (Gill and Pratt, 2008: 17)? Do they have themselves to blame for their insufferable working and living conditions, as the term ‘self-exploitation’ suggests

(Ekman, 2014: 154; Fleming, 2014b: 884; Hoedemaekers, 2018: 1368; Woodward and Lea, 2010: 163)? Have they become too fatalistic to be able to imagine a post-work society (Weeks, 2011: 177-86)? Prominent voices in the post-Fordist literature argue so, both timidly and loudly, with explanations oscillating between overdeterminism (e.g. ‘workers can’t see beyond the ideological veil’, ‘workers can’t imagine or create an alternative’) and individualism (e.g. ‘workers are responsible for their own exploitation’) in a way that resonates with the neoliberal discourse⁶.

Ekman (2014: 155), to mention an extreme example, argues that post-Fordist workers are opportunists digging their own graves in individualistic pursuit of self-realisation, and are in relationships of ‘mutual exploitation’ with their organisations. She thus empties the concept of exploitation of its critical import in Marxist discourse (and the post-Fordist discourse that has followed it), which denotes capitalists’ appropriation of the surplus value generated by labourers less the amount necessary for reproduction of their labour power (Marx, 1951). This asymmetric relationship has its roots in capitalists’ ownership of the means of production, such as land, machinery and raw materials, and labourers’ dependence on them for self-subsistence. As such, within the Marxist framework, exploitation is a structural relationship, irrespective of the intentions, characters and ideological dispositions of individuals who may occupy the positions of worker, manager or business owner. The transition to biopolitical control, neo-managerialism and post-Fordist production certainly has not eliminated this structural inequality. In fact, exploitation in this sense is the condition of possibility for any for-profit organisation and capitalism in all its forms. Therefore, ‘self-exploitation’ and ‘mutual exploitation’ are misnomers that mystify the structural inequality intrinsic to all forms of capitalism. In adopting such concepts, Ekman attributes full individual responsibility to the workers who participated in her research for ‘the enormous exhaustion, pain and anxiety’ (2014: 154) that she witnessed them experiencing.⁷

To return to the post-Fordist literature in general, while those at its overdeterministic end share a belief in neoliberalism’s irreversible triumph over

⁶ For a definition of neoliberalism see Footnote 1 on page 3.

⁷ Butler offers a similar critique of those who hold the oppressed responsible for their own subordination: ‘The insistence that a subject is passionately attached to his or her own subordination has been invoked cynically by those who seek to debunk the claims of the subordinated. If a subject can be shown to pursue or sustain his or her subordinated status, the reasoning goes, then perhaps final responsibility for that subordination resides with the subject. Over and against this view, I would maintain that the attachment to subjection is produced through the workings of power...’ (1997: 6).

alternative forms of socio-economic organisation (see Weeks, 2011: 177-86), those at the individualistic end share extreme individualism with the neoliberal discourse. These studies diverge from the post-Fordist critical tradition to a greater or lesser extent. Post-Fordist theory recognises structural determinants over one's life, while also celebrating opportunities for escape from their grip (Virno, 1996). In keeping with its epistemological premises, a post-Fordist analysis requires a balance to be struck between these two extremes. I believe that this can be achieved by carefully studying the unconscious processes through which the post-Fordist ethos is assimilated into the psyche during a lifelong process of subject formation, as discussed in more depth in Section 2.3. To this end, this thesis stages an encounter between the post-Fordist and psychosocial literature.

The second contribution of this thesis to the post-Fordist literature is a theoretically informed account of the counterintuitive strengthening of affective attachments to work in an era defined by ever-deteriorating working conditions and decreasing remuneration (Gill and Pratt, 2008: 15). The puzzle of neoliberalism's nine lives, which has occupied critical scholars from across disciplines, can only be comprehended with a nuanced understanding of the psychosocial mechanisms at play. Previous studies have emphasised that neoliberalism has not only survived the catastrophes to which it has given rise, but has also become 'a central organizing ethic of society' (Gill, 2017: 608), despite mounting evidence of its failure (Ekman, 2013; Gill and Pratt, 2008; Heelas, 2002; Weeks, 2011). Far from facing a serious challenge, as some post-Fordist theorists expected (for example, Berardi, 2009: 25), the neoliberal ideology and the post-Fordist work ethos to which it has given birth continue to permeate the depths of the psyche and the capillaries of the body (Cremin, 2009; Ekman, 2013; Endrissat et al., 2015; Fleming, 2014a; Gill and Pratt, 2008; Irving, 2016: 33-34; Roberts, 2005). The aim of this thesis is to explain this apparent contradiction, paying keen attention to the intricate interplay between structure and agency mainly at the unconscious level.

The third gap in this literature pertains to the lack of any in-depth study of affective labour. The canon of post-Fordist theory (e.g. Berardi, Hardt, Lazzarato, Negri, Virno) has been criticised, especially by feminist scholars, for overstating the role of cognitive labour in immaterial production, and for undertheorising affective labour (for example, see Dowling, 2007: 118; Dowling et al., 2007: 2; Weeks, 2007). Feminist scholars argue that they have overestimated the collectivising capacity of

affective labour, have overlooked the hierarchy intrinsic to affective labour when performed in a capitalist organisation or context, and are wrong in suggesting that the value created by affective labour is immeasurable (for example, see Dowling, 2007; Dowling et al., 2007). Although I broadly agree with these criticisms, my main concern about their approach to affective labour is that the empirical connection between the post-Fordist ethos and affective labour is left untheorized. I argue that this can be achieved by developing a psychoanalytically-inflected theorisation of affective labour, which is the third contribution of this thesis to the post-Fordist literature. I elaborate on these arguments in the next section.

2.2 The affective labour debate

The affective labour debate focuses on forms of labour that produce ‘a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement, passion’ (Hardt, 1999: 96). This broad definition subsumes various gendered forms of labour, such as care labour (Dalla Costa, 2007; Rose, 1983), aesthetic labour (Ouellette, 2017), emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983) and reproductive labour (Dalla Costa, 2007; Fortunati, 2007; Weeks, 2007), under an umbrella term applicable to a fairly wide range of jobs, including flight attendants (Hochschild, 1983), nursing (Ducey, 2007), fashion modelling (Wissinger, 2007), catering and entertainment (Dowling, 2007, 2012). Affective labour theorists identify three characteristics that distinguish it from cognitive and manual labour. First, it demands well-developed interpersonal skills and deep emotional engagement (Dalla Costa, 2007; Hochschild, 1983; Rose, 1983; Weeks, 2007). Second, it is gendered and predominantly performed by women, with or without pay, at home or at work (Dalla Costa, 2007; Fortunati, 2007; Hardt, 1999; Hochschild, 1983; Rose, 1983; Weeks, 2007). Third, it is ultimately the work of (re)producing humans as individuals and collectives (Dalla Costa, 2007; Hardt, 1999; Rose, 1983; Weeks, 2007; Wissinger, 2007). This is why previous literature refers to this type of labour as ‘the labour of the heart’ (Weeks, 2007: 238), as a metaphor underlining its qualitative differences from the labours of ‘hand and brain’ (Rose, 1983).

In this section, I begin by briefly presenting the theoretical sources of the affective labour debate. Among these are the Marxist-feminist literature and emotional labour theory, which are introduced with special emphasis on their respective contributions to the affective labour debate. I then define affective labour, drawing on both emotional labour and affective labour literatures, because there is major overlap

between the phenomena they study, and the two literatures have more similarities than differences, although I acknowledge points of theoretical divergence between them. Lastly, I discuss how we can move theorisation of ‘the labour of the heart’ forward, and how this thesis contributes to the debate.

The affective labour debate has three main theoretical sources: the post-Fordist theory presented in the previous section, Marxist-feminist theory (for example, see Dalla Costa, 2007; Federici, 2009; Fortunati, 2007; Rose, 1983; Weeks, 2007), and emotional labour theory (for example, see Biron and Van Veldhoven, 2012; Guerrier and Adib, 2003; Hochschild, 1983; Korczynski, 2003; Vincent, 2011). Organisational scholars have largely ignored the debate, although one organisational journal, *Ephemera* published a very influential issue on the subject, with contributions from neighbouring disciplines (for example, see Dowling, 2007; Dowling et al., 2007; Fortunati, 2007; Weeks, 2007; Wissinger, 2007). However, emotional labour theory has attracted a great deal of interest over the years (for example, see Biron and Van Veldhoven, 2012; Guerrier and Adib, 2003; Korczynski, 2003; Vincent, 2011).

Marxist-feminist theory is concerned mainly with the issue of women’s reproductive labour, such as housework, childcare, and care for the elderly and the sick. It argues that capitalist organisations outsource the reproduction of labour power to female members of workers’ families who undertake such work for free, as well as partially to the state if welfare provisions are available. It asserts that reproductive labour makes an indirect yet vital contribution to surplus value creation by meeting the everyday needs of today’s workers – from sexual gratification to food, clean clothing and emotional support – and by raising future generations of workers. Despite being economically valuable, Marxist-feminist authors stress that it is unpaid, socially unrecognised and thrust aside as ‘unproductive’ by classical Marxism (Dowling, 2007: 125; Fortunati, 2007: 145). Marxist-feminist theory has informed the affective labour debate by highlighting the specific skills and affective disposition that go into the work of reproducing humans, as well as the gendered division of labour, and the precarity faced by women confined to traditional gender roles at home and at work.

Emotional labour theory, on the other hand, focuses on in-person, service-sector jobs that require management of emotions. It argues that the skills developed by women while practising unpaid labour in the private sphere, such as caring and emotion management, are capitalised on by for-profit organisations. For example, Arlie Hochschild (1983), whose research on the emotional labour of flight attendants

pioneered this theoretical strand, investigates what happens to workers' emotional wellbeing and sense of self when their personalities and affective capacities are put to work. Hochschild offers a timely analysis of the changing landscape of work and the gender division of labour under post-Fordism. The affective labour debate has followed her in identifying forms of waged work that demand emotional effort, as distinct from other types of work in terms of the skills required, their performative nature, and their effects on workers' subjectivity and wellbeing.

Having introduced its three main theoretical pillars (see Section 2.1 for post-Fordist theory), I now turn to the affective labour debate. For decades, affective labour has been defined as cited at the beginning of this section: the production of 'a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement, passion' (Hardt, 1999: 96). I believe that this is because this definition subsumes various sub-categories of affective labour, including care work, aesthetic labour, emotional labour and reproductive labour. However, this expansiveness is as much a weakness as a strength. Not delineating affective labour undermines its explanatory power; after all, there are myriad products of cognitive and material labour that evoke the affects mentioned above. Therefore, I go beyond this definition to discern attributes of affective labour from the existing literature by inquiring 'who produces, what they produce, and how they produce' (Hardt and Negri, 2009: 131). Some of the attributes discussed below have been extensively researched and theorised, whereas others are un(der)theorised empirical observations found in previous research.

As previously mentioned, affective labour is performed predominantly by women (Dalla Costa, 2007; Fortunati, 2007; Hochschild, 1983; Rose, 1983; Weeks, 2007). In the Turkish fine-dining sector, for example, immaterialisation has been accompanied by growing employment of female cooks, especially for positions in show kitchens where they work face-to-face with customers (see Section 3.4). The literature also suggests that employers recruit people who 'look good and sound right' (Warhurst and Nickson, 2009, cited in Elias et al., 2017: 35). This often refers to the embodiment of dominant class, gender and beauty norms and racial attributes. In Chapters 5 and 6, I explore how this has led to 'gentrification' (Warhurst and Nickson, 2007: 793) of the Turkish culinary workforce through employment of young people from middle-class backgrounds with higher education, foreign language skills, and a certain fashion sense and demeanour.

The product of affective labour is considered to be affect or an affective commodity, i.e. a commodity that has both material and affective elements. For example, Ducey (2007: 203) talks about a nurse who, by reading books to her patients, produces a ‘pleasurable interaction’. Dowling (2007: 120) shows how service staff create ‘the dining experience’, which is a ‘sensual package’ comprising both material (food) and immaterial components (excitement, satisfaction, etc.). Wissinger (2007) argues that fashion models can produce affects in person, for example during a fashion show, as well as by posing for images that evoke affective responses and form affective connections.

Affective labour theorists argue that temporary affective experiences are economically valuable, but affective labour produces much more than affectivity and surplus value. Rose (1983) emphasises that care labour is vital to child rearing and adults’ wellbeing. Wissinger (2007: 255) underlines that affective labour reproduces not only those at the receiving end of affective labour but also those who perform it. Hardt claims that ‘affective labor is itself and directly the constitution of communities and collective subjectivities’ (1999: 89) because it establishes networks, and creates and sustains social bonds. In short, affective labour produces and reproduces humans as living organisms as well as individual and collective subjects. Therefore, post-Fordist theorists argue that affective labour culminates in an overarching product which is life itself (Hardt, 1999). Given that these studies only show that affective labour is performed by humans for humans and (re)produces humans, we should perhaps not leap from the potential production of human life to the production of life *per se*, a debate that goes beyond the limits of this literature review.

Having discussed the subject and the product of affective labour, I now move to the production process. This thesis focuses particularly on the latter because it is the more contentious and underdeveloped part of the debate. First, affective labour requires human contact (Hardt, 1999: 95-6; Wissinger, 2007: 260-1). In the Turkish culinary context, for example, this is captured by the idiom *elinin tadı* [the taste of your hand]. Its apparent meaning is an idiosyncratic taste transferred through physical contact from the cook’s hand to the food, and it is invoked when food is particularly enjoyed. I argue that the pleasurable contact implied by this idiom is in fact between the cook and the diner (see Section 6.2).

Hardt (1999: 95-96) argues that the human contact required for affective labour may be both actual and virtual. The former refers to in-person encounters, while the

latter are instances where communication devices (e.g. telephone) or artefacts (e.g. pictures) mediate the contact. Spinozist theorists of affective labour argue that in either case, the contact is direct, bodily and automatic (for example, see Wissinger, 2007: 261). It is an encounter between bodies that produces ‘a form of bodily vitality’ (Wissinger, 2007: 250) before any cognitive process takes place, because somehow the mind arrives too late at the scene when there is an affective transmission.

The claim that a virtual contact mediated by devices or artefacts is direct and unmediated is an immanent contradiction in Spinozist theorisations of affective labour. One example is Wissinger’s analysis of fashion models’ affective labour, which produces pictures and advertisements that evoke affect. One might think that the relationship between fashion models and their audience would be mediated by their image, and potentially by adjacent text or some other visual or textual content where it is published. However, Wissinger contends that the image consists of affect and meaning content, the former reaching the viewer before the latter. She argues that there is a ‘primacy of the affective in image reception’ (Massumi, 2002: 24, cited in Wissinger, 2007: 261), as if the picture is a thunderbolt and its light (affect) travels before its sound (meaning content). This theorisation reproduces the mind/body duality even though, as a Spinozist scholar, Wissinger claims to challenge it. The argument is self-contradictory, in that it both presents affect as an attribute of the image, and denies mediation of the relationship between model and audience through the image. It also seems to stand on flimsy scientific grounds, although that is for cognitive scientists to establish. In Chapters 4 to 7, I propose an alternative, Lacanian approach to affective labour that acknowledges and theorises its mediation through images and discourse. This forms the first contribution of this thesis to the affective labour debate.

Another crucial aspect of affective labour is its performativity. Here, I use performativity to refer to three interlaced phenomena. First, affective labourers perform their gender, class and race attributes and identities in accordance with normative expectations as part of their work (Dowling, 2012: 111; Elias et al., 2017: 35; Hochschild, 1983: 163; Weeks, 2007: 241). One’s posture, demeanour, spoken accent, fashion choices, etc. are key to looking good and sounding right, as mentioned earlier (Dowling, 2007: 120; Wissinger, 2007: 252). For example, Dowling emphasises the need for a waitress to embody an idealised female image: ‘as your waitress, I am a necessarily feminized imaginary; I represent a particular gendered

icon' (2012: 111). Similarly, Roderick argues that 'the female knowledge worker must "cite" a normative feminised affective worker in order to be recognisable within the organisation as a viable employee' (2016: 407). Second, affective labourers are expected to embody organisational 'values' and image. Again, Dowling states in her autoethnographic account that waitresses 'were expected to actively "embody", not just simply "adhere to" the restaurant's "core values"', which were 'to be "gracious", "attentive", "authentic", "fun", "friendly", "accountable" and "original"' (2012: 120).

Third, and most important for the purposes of this thesis, affective labourers perform the post-Fordist ethos of love for one's job. According to Hochschild, '[s]eeming to "love the job" becomes part of the job; and actually trying to love it, and to enjoy the customers, helps the worker in this effort' (1983: 6). She suggests that the move from outward display of love to actual *coming to love* is a move from surface acting to deep acting. It is a process of '*coming to be*' [emphasis in the original] or becoming. Weeks calls this 'the specific performativity of emotional labour' that 'extends to the affective life of the subject, into the fabric of the personality' (2007: 240-1). Affective labour necessitates putting one's personality, subjectivity or soul into one's work (Dowling, 2007: 120; Weeks, 2007: 239; Wissinger, 2007: 252), but one does not just 'give something of themselves' (Rose, 1983: 83) or 'sell personality' (Hochschild, 1983: ix, cited in Weeks, 2007: 240). Affective labour is 'a practice with constitutive effects' (Weeks, 2007: 240).

Emotional and affective labour theorists have under-theorised this 'performative' side of affective labour, introducing a 'linguistrick' *à la* Lacan (see 1999: 15). They argue that affective labour constitutes the subject, but do not explain how. In the affective labour debate, performativity has either been reduced to theatricality (for example, see Dowling, 2007: 120; Hochschild, 1983: 35), under-theorised due to lack of appropriate conceptual tools (see Weeks, 2007: 240), or briefly touched on as an empirical observation (see Dowling, 2007: 120; Wissinger, 2007: 252). Previous studies have not explained how the three types of performance presented above – of identity and social status, organisational values/image, and the hegemonic ethos of work – build subjectivity, and through what psychic mechanisms.

Hochschild's theorisation (1983: 214-21) is arguably the most developed account of affective labours' psychic mechanisms thanks to the insights she adopts from Freud to theorise especially emotion management. However, she assumes that workers exist as unitary subjects already constituted before performing emotional

labour, who may or may not engage with it at a deep personal level (Hochschild, 1983: 7). She believes that when workers engage in deep acting, part of their personality is separated from the rest and put to commercial use, which causes self-estrangement (Hochschild, 1983: 7). In other words, Hochschild sees emotional labour as ‘deformative’ (giving something of oneself, being undone), rather than ‘per-formative’ (acquiring new personal characteristics, becoming).

The second contribution of this thesis is to theorise performativity in the affective labour debate by adopting a Butlerian approach which is based on the Lacanian theory of subject (see Chapter 6; Fotaki et al., 2012: 1107; Kenny, 2017: 1027; Kenny et.al., 2018: 4-5; Roberts, 2005: 632). Butler (1988) argues that embodiment and performance are not expressions of the subject’s pre-existing self, which is a myth, but are constitutive of the subject (see also Kenny et.al., 2018: 5). Subjects embody and enact their identification, with discourses, organisational roles, others, etc., through ‘stylization of the body’ (Butler, 1988: 519) and ‘stylized repetition of acts’ (Butler, 1988: 519). Over time, these performances constitute the self, which is always in a process of becoming.

The third contribution to the debate follows from this insight. By studying the performance of cooks’ identifications with the ethos of love (symbolic identification) and images that communicate this ethos (imaginary identification), I establish an empirical link between the post-Fordist ethos and affective labour, as well as a theoretical link between the post-Fordist literature, the affective labour debate and psychosocial studies.⁸ I elaborate on this in the next section.

2.3 Psychosocial studies and psychoanalytically-inflected research

Psychosocial studies explore the complex relationship between culture/society and subjectivity in a manner that challenges the structure/agency binary (Parker and Fotaki, 2014: 6; Kenny and Fotaki, 2014: 18). They look at ways in which the two co-constitute and are implicated in each other. They differ from other social theories particularly in their attentiveness to psychic and/or affective entanglements between social structures and subjects (Kenny and Fotaki, 2014: 19).

This section provides an overview of the psychosocial field comprising Spinozist-Deleuzian and psychoanalytically-inflected studies, and reviews aspects of post-Fordism and affective labour about which the Spinozist-Deleuzian strand has a

⁸ For a definition of symbolic and imaginary identification, see pp.38-9.

blind spot. It introduces the unique strengths of psychoanalytically-inflected studies that help address these gaps, focusing explicitly on the psychoanalytical concept of ‘identification’ previously adopted by organisational scholars to explain affective investment in hegemonic ideologies and discourses and structures of power. It argues for a turn from ‘imaginary identification’ to ‘symbolic identification’ in order to explain structure-agency relations in their full psychic complexity.

Psychosocial studies are a meeting space between various disciplines, including psychoanalysis, psychology, anthropology, politics, geography and organisation studies (Parker and Fotaki, 2014: 8; Bicknell and Liefoghe, 2010; Braidotti, 2002; Fotaki et al., 2012; Frosh et al., 2003; Hook, 2008a, 2008b, 2011; Stavrakakis, 1999; Ural, 2017). Their theoretical sources are inevitably varied, but two general tendencies can be identified: (i) Spinozist and Deleuzian studies (for example, Beyes and De Cock, 2017; Massumi, 1996; Negri et al., 2004; Gregg and Seigworth, 2010), and (ii) psychoanalytically-inflected studies (for example, Dashtipour and Vidaillet, 2017; Fotaki, 2010; Gabriel, 2014; Hochschild, 1983; Kenny, 2010; Madra and Özselçuk, 2013; Stavrakakis, 2014).

As mentioned in the previous sections, post-Fordist theory and the affective labour debate are built on Spinozist-Deleuzian philosophy, and largely distance themselves from the psychoanalytically-inflected strand (Dowling, 2007, 2012; Ducey, 2007; Hardt, 1999, 2005; Hardt and Negri, 2000, 2004, 2009; Wissinger, 2007). This theoretical commitment poses three important limitations on their conceptualisation of affective labour: first, it does not explain the mediation of the encounter between the performer and the beneficiary of affective labour through images and discourse; second, it does not account for the performative aspect of affective labour; and third, it does not establish an empirical and theoretical link between the post-Fordist ethos of love for one’s job and affective labour (see previous sections). The psychoanalytically-inflected strand of psychosocial studies, and especially its Lacanian division, provides conceptual tools to move beyond these impasses.

The most significant contribution of psychoanalytically-inflected research is its theorisation of the unconscious and psychic dynamics of social, political, economic, cultural and organisational phenomena. The unconscious sheds light on three matters in particular. First, it unveils the ‘unknown knowns’, i.e. thoughts and beliefs that guide our actions without us being consciously aware of harbouring them (Hook,

2018: 134-5). Unknown knowns are made possible by the constitution of the subject as split among different psychic agencies and registers – id, ego and superego in Freud, and the symbolic, the imaginary and the real in Lacan (see Barnard, 2002: 17; Braidotti, 2002: 93-4; Fink, 2002: 22-4; Lacan, 1999: 11). The ego of Freudian discourse and ‘the enunciating subject’ (Fink, 2002: 24) of Lacanian discourse are the conscious self, who finds itself up against an unconscious self that cannot be understood and tamed, let alone brought under control. Unconscious urges lead to irrational, counterintuitive, conflicting and apparently self-destructive behaviour. Therefore, theories of the unconscious inform studies of human behaviour, such as injurious social attachments (Kenny, 2010: 859), public policies based on untenable assumptions (Fotaki, 2010; Stavrakakis, 2014), political organisation around far-right ideologies and authoritarian leaders (Hook, 2008b, 2011), affective attachment to precarious jobs (Hoedemaekers, 2018), and passionate attachment to professional norms and ethics at the expense of one’s own livelihood and wellbeing (Kenny et al., 2018: 5).

The conscious and the unconscious, while criss-crossing each other all the time, follow their own logics and motives (Hook, 2011: 109). Torn between various psychic agents, the subject shows ambivalent attitudes and behaviour, which social scientists often struggle to explicate (for example, see Ekman, 2014). This ambivalence usually takes the form of love and hate toward the same object hosted together in the psyche (see Section 6.3). The psychoanalytically-inflected approach helps understand this ambivalence by taking account of the fractured and conflicted nature of the psyche (for example, see Hoedemaekers, 2018; Hook, 2011: 112-3; Kenny, 2010: 859; Kenny et al., 2018: 5, 16). Lacanian psychoanalysis, in particular, demonstrates that ‘apparent contraries might be located on a continuum’ (Hook, 2011: 113). This insight helps me analyse my interlocutors’ professed love for culinary work without papering over its inherent contradictions, pathologising its ambivalence or questioning their sincerity (see Chapter 6).

Second, the unconscious denotes the space in which body and mind, affect and thought, biological and social/cultural/organisational encounter, get entangled with and form each other. Non-binarism is especially central to Lacanian psychoanalysis, in which these are conceptualised not as co-constitutive yet separate entities, but as a continuum (see Section 4.3; Bicknell and Liefoghe, 2010: 320; Lacan, 1999: 44-5; Verhaeghe, 2002: 109). Lacan asserts that ‘there is no pure affective on the one hand,

entirely engaged in the real, and the pure intellectual on the other, which detaches itself from it in order to grasp it once again' (1988: 293). For Lacan, treating affect as 'a kind of ineffable quality which must be sought out in itself' (1988: 57) in the clinical context imposes a dualism on the complex relationship between language (or abstract, immaterial, image, thought, mind) and affect (or concrete, material, body), which leads psychoanalytical psychotherapy into a dead end. Adopting this insight in researching affective labour helps me explain its mediation through images and discourse (see Sections 4.3 and 5.2 and Chapter 6). This is one of the main reasons why my research is informed by Lacanian psychoanalysis more than other psychoanalytically-inflected approaches.

Third, the unconscious accounts for the enmeshing of the individual with the social through constitution of the subject in a socio-normative sphere. Psychoanalytical thought suggests that we are born into a 'linguistic universe' (Fink, 1995: 5, cited in Rubenstein, 2012: 42), a discursively structured social world not of our own making. We try to 'forge meaningful lives' (Rubenstein, 2012: 45) and make places for ourselves in this world (see also Frosh, 2012: 56). On the one hand, people 'subjectify themselves to the norms, laws, rituals and language governing their social world ("the symbolic order")' (Kenny et al., 2018: 4) in order to gain social acceptance. On the other, we position ourselves 'in relation to wider discourses ... amid sometimes shifting norms' (Kenny et al., 2018: 6) in the process of our constitution. In other words, subjectivation has at least two moments: first, submission to social norms, and second, self-positioning in relationship to the socio-symbolic. However, Lacan goes further to argue that subjectivation is not an inter-penetration of the individual and the social through these instances. He says:

The world is that charming little shell in the center of which one places a precious stone, that unique thing that man is supposed to be. Man is supposed to have – given this scheme of things – these things that palpitate within him – an inner world. And then the world itself is said to be an outside world. I really don't believe that this is adequate. I really don't believe that there is an inner world that is the reflection of the outside world, nor the contrary either. I've tried to formulate something that incontestably presupposes a more complicated organization (Lacan, 2013: 12).

Here, he objects to the idea that the individual and the social are separate, unified entities, that there is a boundary between them, albeit porous, and that individuals 'internalise' social norms and 'externalise' their 'inner selves'. His ontological

approach is that individual and society are on a single continuum, like rational–irrational, conscious–unconscious and body–discourse. Both ends of these dualities are implicated in and tied to each other (see also Section 4.3).

The psychic mechanism through which individual and collective subjects are constituted, as described above, is called ‘symbolic identification’ (Hook, 2011: 109–10, 2018: 116). According to Lacan, this works as follows. Discourses call one to be, to identify with a discursive structure that brings its constituents together, to join the socio-symbolic, to become a subject. These discourses are fissured, fractured and contradictory, creating an ambiguity in social expectations. This enigma of what the Other (socio-symbolic) wants from us incites desire and triggers the process of subjectivation (Copjec, 2002: 238–41; Lacan, 1999: 44–5). In other words, symbolic identification means identification with a socio-symbolic structure, not with a particular signifier or subject position that is part of it. Subjects try, intuitively and unconsciously, to figure out the socio-symbolic position assigned to them and fill that position, but they always go off at a tangent, missing the target. Thus, subjects come into being alongside the position at which they initially aimed. This is what Lacan calls “‘para-being’ (par-être)’ or ‘being beside’ (1999: 44). In other words, ‘the subject is the product of history without being the fulfilment of a historical demand’ (Copjec, 2002: 239). Social, historical, cultural and organisational structures incite the subject’s desire to be and become, yet cannot fully determine the end-product.

Neither are subjects, for their part, necessarily in control of the process. Hook reminds us that ‘identification ... is largely an unconscious as opposed to a “self-willed” or agentic process’ (2018: 117). Agency in psychoanalytically-inflected research refers not to rationality or wilful action, but to desirous being and action. Each subject formation, as described above, is a singular intervention in the socio-symbolic order. Such interventions create a constant flow of signifiers, i.e. changes to the symbolic order (Lacan, 1999: 44–5). Therefore, paradoxically, symbolic identifications incrementally change ideologies, discourses and normative orders, while simultaneously reproducing and sustaining those structures. This nuanced approach to structure–agency dynamics informs my analysis of my interlocutors’ attachment to the post-Fordist ethos (see Chapters 5 and 6).

Psychoanalytically-inflected organisation studies have previously used the concept of identification to explain attachment to organisations, organisational norms, organisational positions and ideologies of work (for example, see Bicknell and

Liefooghe, 2010: 323; Böhm and Batta, 2010: 351-2; Driver, 2017: 623; Fotaki, 2010: 707-8; Kenny, 2010: 859; Roberts, 2005: 630-9). However, my approach differs in focusing on symbolic rather than imaginary identification. This allows me to appropriate Lacanian psychoanalysis without tipping its delicate balance between structure and agency.

Imaginary identification means identifying with images that give one an ephemeral sense of a unified self, whether the mirror image in early childhood development (Böhm and Batta, 2010: 351-2), one's peers (Roberts, 2005: 630-1) or hegemonic cultural representations (Hook, 2018: 130). Imaginary identification is the psychic mechanism through which subjects reproduce existing social roles and manners by comparing themselves with and mimicking those around them (see Fink, 2014a: 27-31). Therefore, it plays a crucial role in social reproduction, but is secondary to constitution of the subject as a unique speaking being and society as a socio-symbolic structure (Hook, 2011: 110). Based on these Lacanian insights, it can be argued that the symbolic is the realm of difference (first and foremost sexual difference), of becoming a singular subject positioned in relation to society, and of unconscious experimentation with new ways of being; while the imaginary is the realm of likeness, of subjectivation to social desires and expectations, and of reproduction of what already exists (Arnaud, 2002: 700; Braidotti, 2002; Copjec, 2002: 238-41; Fink, 2014a: 27-35; Hook, 2011).

Previous organizational research has either focused exclusively on identification in its imaginary form (and used the concept of identification interchangeably with the concept of imaginary identification) or proposed a conceptualisation of identification that fails to distinguish its symbolic and imaginary forms. For example, Hoedemaekers defines identification as 'modelling of oneself after the image of another' (2010: 381) and uses identification and imaginary identification interchangeably. Roberts studies 'the role that images and processes of identification play in effecting such control' (2005: 620) disregarding symbolic identification. These and similar studies exploring the imaginary dimension of organisational life have made important contributions to our understanding of the role of unconscious 'not just in sustaining workplace practices generally, but also in sustaining relations of domination or exploitation more specifically' (Glynos, 2010). In other words, they have shown how organisational and social structures shape the worker's subjectivity in a way that leads them to reproduce rather than challenge existing structures (Hoedemaekers, 2009: 185). However, in

their effort to understand workers' unconscious participation in reproduction of organisational relations of power, these scholars have largely overlooked how symbolic identification provides workers space for agency and leads to structural change. Roberts, for example, argued that 'formation of the ego through identification' means that 'we can assume our own agency not against but only through subjection' (2005: 638). Thus, he continued, attempting to resist power tragically 'binds me ever more tightly to that which I resist' and results in 'the subject's inadvertent collusion in its own exploitation' (2005: 638-9).

Some others recognised the role of the symbolic in shaping identification while falling short of theorising symbolic identification as separate and different from imaginary identification. For example, in Hoedemaekers and Keegan (2010), imaginary and symbolic identification are theorised as a single, uniform psychic process:

...the subject constructs identifications that are informed by images that are present within language. Lacan refers to this assembly of images as the ego ideal, and it represents a condensation of dominant meaning into an idealized image of the self. This ego ideal shapes the subject's self-image or ego, a process which Lacan refers to as identification. (2010: 1027)

From a Lacanian viewpoint, identification is therefore as much a structural dynamic as an agential response... The subject's encounter with the lack in the Symbolic Other gives rise to identification. This is where the ego ideal comes into play, a condensation of persistent images of 'the performing subject' from the signifying chain... Subjects unconsciously strive to embody this ego ideal, and reshape their ego to conform to it. (2010: 1039)

Here identification is theorised as an 'agential response' to the lack in the symbolic, which is in line with the definition of symbolic identification adopted in this thesis. As argued above, there is agency involved in symbolic identification because one does not fill a pre-determined position in a structure but appears as a new subject beside the position to which s/he has been called. Nevertheless, Hoedemaekers and Keegan (2010) do not acknowledge this phenomenon of "para-being" (*par-être*) or 'being beside' (Lacan, 1999: 44). Instead, their description of subject formation aligns with imaginary identification as defined in this thesis. They argue that one embodies and performs socially-constructed images and shapes one's subjectivity accordingly. In other words, they talk about reproduction of existing social roles and manners in

becoming a subject. In summary, they construct their category of identification by adopting the first moment of symbolic identification which is responding to the lack in the Other and the second moment of imaginary identification which is to perform a socially-constructed role and merging these two moments into a single psychic process. Hence, certain theoretical nuances crucial to understanding subject formation, agency, social reproduction and change are lost in this theorisation.

This brings me back to the question of ‘self-exploitation’ (Ekman, 2014: 154; Fleming, 2014b: 884; Hoedemaekers, 2018: 1368; Woodward and Lea, 2010: 163) posed earlier in Section 2.1. As Dashtipour and Vidaillet note, the Lacanian organisational literature discusses numerous ways in which, arguably, workers unwillingly accept, become complicit in, or wilfully submit to organisational power that is detrimental to their own wellbeing (2017: 21-2). In other words, they approach subjectivation to the post-Fordist ethos and power relations in the overly deterministic and ‘pessimistic’, if not fatalistic, manner previously criticised. They argue for ‘literality of discourses in relation to which individuals position themselves, and which determines them subjectively, by assigning them to different places’ (Arnaud and Vidallet, 2018: 73) and claim that discourses provide ‘linguistic images’ (Hoedemaekers, 2009: 182) for subjects to embody verbatim. As such, even the scholars who acknowledge the symbolic dimension of identification appear to conflate and/or confuse symbolic identification with imaginary identification, attributing the former a deterministic, reproductive role. Arnaud and Vidallet, for example, argue that the Symbolic either allows subjects to make their own place in it by constructing themselves or confines them ‘to an exacting place that totally “forces” them and leads them into alienating or pathological forms of subjectivation’ (2018: 73). While the former option seems too ‘self-willed’ (Hook, 2018: 117) and rational, the latter is overly deterministic for a Lacanian theorisation. The conceptualisation of symbolic identification proposed in this thesis helps us move beyond these extremes by carefully differentiating it from imaginary identification.

Lastly, psychoanalytically-inflected organisational research has almost entirely ignored the affective labour debate. Affective labour has never been on the agenda, apart from some brief overviews (for example, see Fotaki et al., 2017: 9), nor has it been approached from a psychoanalytical perspective, in or beyond Organisation Studies. As presented in Section 2.2, a psychoanalytically-inflected study of affective

labour reveals its imaginary and symbolic mediation, as well as its performative nature. It also builds a theoretical and empirical link between the post-Fordist ethos and affective labour. In Chapter 5, I study imaginary identification with this ethos and its role in middle-class, university-educated Turkish subjects' desire to pursue a culinary career. In Chapter 6, I analyse symbolic identification with the ethos of love in this cohort, how they perform this identification as part of their affective labour, and the ambivalent nature of their love for culinary work.

In summary, this thesis makes three main contributions to psychoanalytically-inflected research: (i) analysis of *symbolic* identification with the post-Fordist ethos, (ii) theorisation of the ambivalence of 'love for one's job', and (iii) a psychoanalytical conceptualisation of affective labour. It thus provides an analysis of strong affective investments in the post-Fordist ethos, while avoiding overdeterminism or individualism (see Chapters 5 and 6). It examines love for culinary work without papering over its inherent contradictions, pathologising its ambivalence, or questioning my interlocutors' sincerity (see Chapter 6), and analyses affective labour in a way that accounts for its mediation through images and discourse, as well as its performativity. In addition, the thesis makes a contribution to psychosocial research methods (see Chapter 4). In order to analyse symbolic identification and the mediation of affective labour, I examine Turkish culinary idiomatic expressions (e.g. *elinin tadı* [the taste of your hand] and *meslek bulaştı* [you have caught the trade, you have been contaminated with the trade]). These give away unconscious thoughts and affective attachments thanks to their polyvalence. As socio-cultural tokens, they reveal the psychosocial dimension of culinary work and provide a window into the affective domain, as discussed further in Chapter 4.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed post-Fordist theory, the affective labour debate and psychoanalytically-inflected (psychosocial) studies. Each contribute to our understanding of the post-Fordist ethos and its relation to affective labour.

According to the post-Fordist literature, the ethos of love emanates from the capitalist demand for workers' affective capacities and the ability of immaterial labour to shape subjectivity, especially in the expanding creative and cultural industries. Nevertheless, this is more of an axiom or hypothesis than a theorised empirical finding. As most post-Fordist theorists acknowledge, the transition to post-Fordism

has been a context-specific and contingent process, experienced asymmetrically by different societies and by their various constitutive social strata. Therefore, empirical studies of Post-Fordism are needed that show its articulations with local dynamics and appropriation of its ethos by local actors. This can shed light on how the post-Fordist ethos has attained its current hegemonic state. Also, the post-Fordist literature does not offer any explanation as to how people become attached to the post-Fordist ethos. Its authors explicitly or implicitly claim that workers are blinded by an ideological veil, willingly participate in their own exploitation, or give their consent because they do not have hope for an alternative future. These arguments oscillate between overdeterminism and individualism in a way that resonates with the neoliberal discourse. Drawing on a multi-sited organisational ethnography, this thesis offers a psychoanalytically-inflected approach to fill the gaps and overcome the contradictions identified in this literature review.

The affective labour debate draws attention to how (especially women's) emotional skills developed outside work, such as nurturing and caring, are deployed in the service sector for the purpose of profit making. It argues that this type of labour demands emotional engagement, because for service encounters to be genuinely pleasurable, workers must enjoy themselves while performing their jobs. Therefore, loving one's job, and showing that love, are crucial to the effective performance of affective labour. Some authors recognise this performative aspect, but either under-theorise it (for example, Weeks, 2007) or see it as an alienating process that diminishes subjecthood, rather than as a constitutive process productive of the subject (for example, Hochschild, 1983). On the other hand, the dominant, Spinozist-Deleuzian strand of the affective labour debate rejects the idea that affective labour is mediated through an ethos, ideology, discourse or norm. According to this approach, affective labour is an embodied contact through which a pre-conscious affective transmission takes place with no mediation. This rejection of mediation is so extreme that, for example, even fashion models who produce affect-invoking images are believed to have direct bodily contact with their audience. I address these gaps and contradictions by proposing a psychoanalytically-inflected reconceptualisation of affective labour.

Psychoanalytically-inflected research provides a theoretically elaborate approach to psychic attachments to hegemonic ideologies, discourses and representations. Deployment of the psychoanalytical concept of identification shows how we unconsciously uphold and act according to social and organisational norms

and expectations, even when they are harmful to our wellbeing or conflict with our apparent self-interests and conventional wisdom. This helps explain how the ethos of love for work has been embraced at a time when workers' rights and working conditions are deteriorating dramatically. Contrary to common sense, psychoanalysis shows that love and hate, pain and pleasure are experienced as pairs owing to a split in the psyche. This advances our understanding of love for one's job by showing how 'normal' it is to be deeply emotionally invested in something that causes mental, emotional, physical or financial suffering, or to harbour both positive and negative affects toward the same object. In short, psychoanalysis unravels the vicissitudes of love, with all its ambivalence, contradictions and irrationality.

This thesis diverges from and contributes to the psychoanalytically-inflected literature particularly by deploying symbolic identification to analyse attachment to the post-Fordist ethos. I argue that imaginary identification explains attachment to social roles and manners, but not to socio-symbolic structures. Attachment to the latter is realised through symbolic identification, which both underpins and incrementally changes it. This, I argue, is key to analysing love for one's job in a manner that both identifies the structural determinants and acknowledges the space for agency, even if largely unconscious or irrational.

Finally, the psychoanalytically-inflected literature has not been concerned with affective labour and its role in constitution of subjectivity through everyday practices with performative effects. By staging an encounter with post-Fordist theory, the affective labour debate and psychoanalytically-inflected research, this thesis shows how love for one's job and affective labour reinforce each other, shape subjectivities and create surplus value.

Chapter 3: Historical, Political, Social and Economic Background

Like all organisational phenomena, the transition to post-Fordism in the Turkish fine-dining sector has unfolded within a particular historical, political, social and economic context. Issues of significance to this thesis, including organisational hierarchies, recruitment methods in restaurants, staff profiles, the clientele, the popularisation of culinary work and the establishment of culinary schools, have a history spanning centuries. This history has been a stage for contestation and collaboration between international, national and local forces. This chapter studies their interplay in order to present the background against which the phenomena studied in this research have unfolded.

In particular, the chapter explores pre-modern Ottoman eateries and their enduring influences on the Turkish restaurant sector, the formation of a modern restaurant sector under European influence in the 19th century and its decline from World War I onwards, revival of the sector in the 1980s as a result of neoliberal restructuring⁹, and finally the formation of the culinary education sector and the drastic changes it has enabled in the restaurant sector. The chapter zooms into and out of spatio-temporal segments in order to establish connections between past and present, in line with the multi-sited organisational ethnography approach (Nicolini, 2009: 121).

Providing a concise account of a centuries-long socio-economic process based on a literature in its relatively early years (i.e. food history) imposes limitations. The chapter should be seen as an attempt to develop familiarity with the context and lay a foundation for discussions in later sections, not to construct a meta-narrative or decisively establish historical facts.

3.1 Ottoman culinary history: imarets, *meyhanes* and the palace cuisine

Certain aspects of the Turkish restaurant sector are best understood from a historically-informed perspective. These include the decisive role of Istanbul, which was once the imperial capital and later the economic and cultural capital of the republic, in shaping organisational forms (for-profit/not-for-profit, fine-dining/casual-dining, sit-down/take-away, etc.), recruitment practices (through kinship ties and networks, or with a preference for culinary education), cooking techniques, consumption habits and culinary tastes. In this section, I trace the emergence and development of the sector to

⁹ For a definition of neoliberalism see Footnote 1 on page 3.

its roots in the Ottoman Empire. The literature suggests a highly complex process of both continuity and rupture ensuing from the development of capitalist modernity in Turkey. I aim to provide a meaningful account of these processes.

Before embarking on exploring the antecedents of contemporary restaurants in Turkey, it is worth noting that the restaurant is a modern institution, although some of its features can be observed in pre-modern eating establishments such as inns, taverns and soup kitchens. The term ‘restaurant’ refers to ‘places where food, ordered *à la carte*, is cooked and served for money by waiters (or by self-service) to the customer who can sit and eat his meal in an eating space’ (Lewicka, 2005: 42). In the Ottoman context there were commercial and non-commercial eating establishments that partially met these criteria.

A variety of commercial eateries specialised ‘in only one or a few dishes including *döner*, bean stews and *pilafs*, meatballs, grilled liver, chicken, and milk-based desserts’ (Yenal and Kubiena, 2016: 65). These operated especially in urban areas and provided affordable eating options for both residents and travellers. For example, there were hundreds of food shops and eateries during the 18th century in Üsküdar, the historic point of entry to Istanbul from the Anatolian side, where the Ottoman sultan’s summer palaces and established families’ summer villas were clustered (Bilgin, 2014). These differed from modern restaurants in several respects: they typically did not provide seating, they specialised in a small number of food items, their cooks and pastry chefs perfected their skills in producing these items but did not necessarily have transferable skills (from *pilaf* making to *döner* making for instance), they were usually organised around guilds (Karababa, 2012; Faroghi, 2006: 343), and their prices were controlled by the Ottoman palace through a system called *narh* (Boyar and Fleet, 2010: 167). Although they have decreased in number and variety, these eateries have adapted to the free-market economy and still survive in urban hubs such as the Beyoğlu, Beşiktaş and Kadıköy districts of Istanbul.

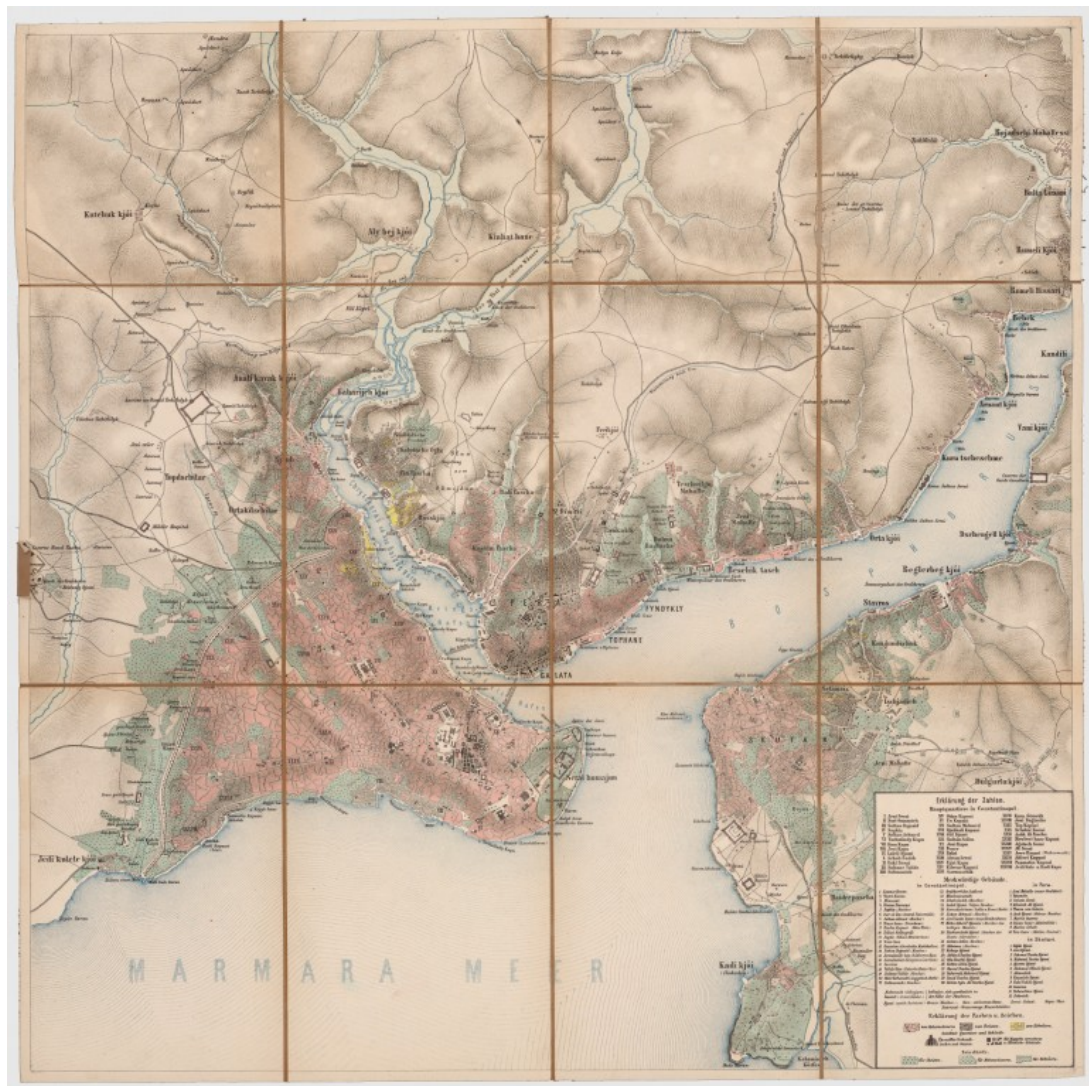


Figure 3: 19th century map of Istanbul

Drawn by the Military Geographical Institute of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy under the direction of Josef Scheda around 1860-70 (Source: Wikimedia Commons, 2012).

A second type of food establishment somewhat resembling a modern restaurant, the *meyhane* [tavern], predates modernity, has survived to the present day, and meets all the criteria in Lewicka's definition of a restaurant (2005: 42). Its most noticeable difference from a restaurant was its place in the socio-economic lives of the Ottoman people, determined by public consumption of alcohol. Stretching over parts of Europe, Asia and Africa, the Ottoman Empire ruled over a multi-religious, multi-ethnic population. Under Ottoman law, different ethno-religious communities were subject to different regulations, mainly in accordance with their religious norms. For example, a ban on the consumption and sale of alcohol applied only to Muslim subjects of the empire (Georgeon, 2002: 7). This ban determined the ownership, clientele,

geographical position and social status of *meyhane*. Until the 19th century, they were located on the outskirts and in underdeveloped districts of Istanbul, such as ‘Pera, Galata, Tatavla (a Greek quarter beyond Taksim), the banks of the Bosphorus, but also Hasköy, Balat, Cibali, Samatya, Langa – all quarters known to be inhabited by non-Muslims’ (Georgeon, 2002: 12). They were banned within the historic city walls (Akyazıcı Özkoçak, 2007: 971) and were almost exclusively owned by Greeks, Armenians and Jews (Georgeon, 2002: 12).

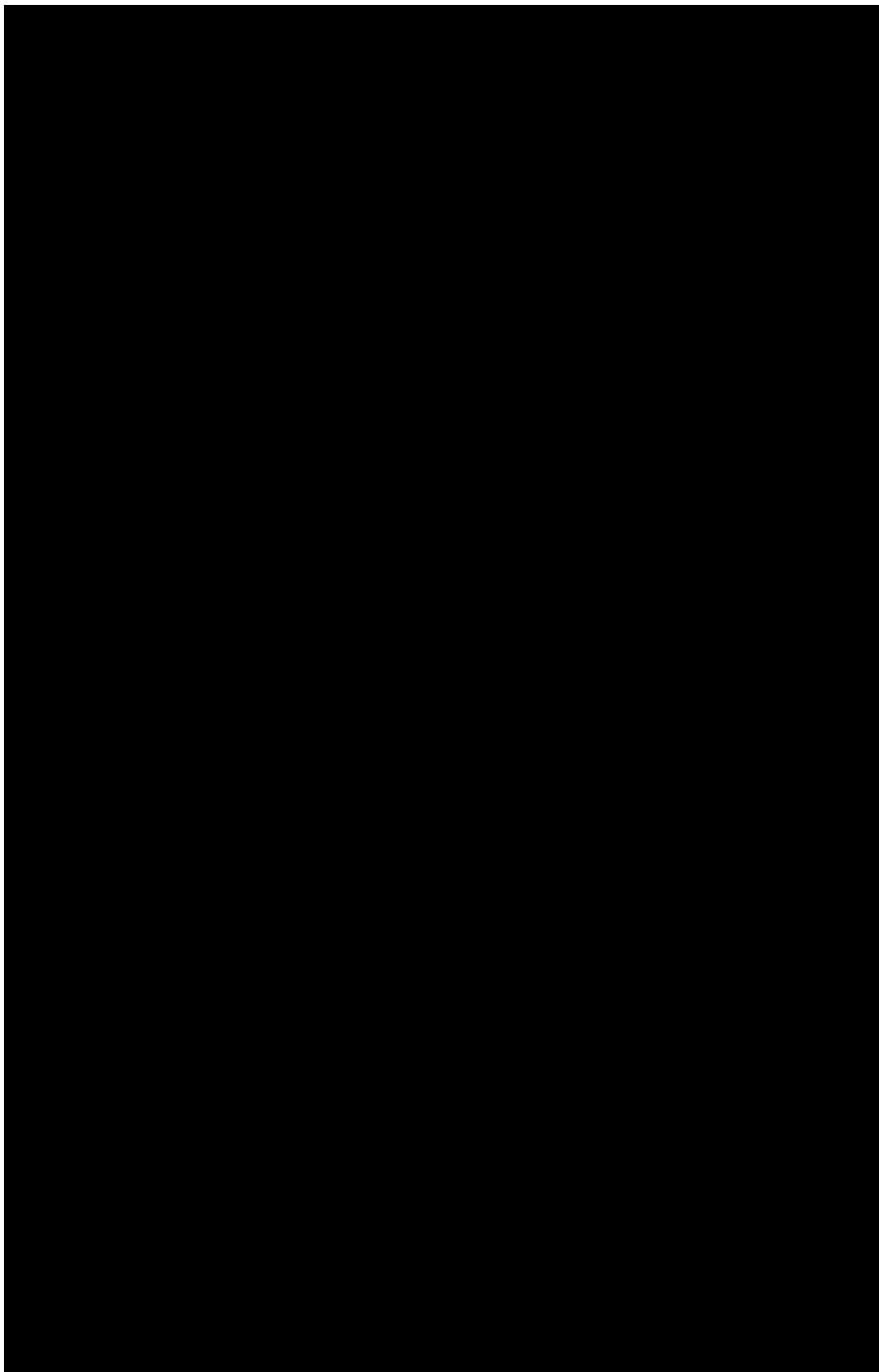


Figure 4: An 18th-century tavern
Source: Özbey (2014)

The occasional opening of a *meyhane* in a Muslim neighbourhood would usually be met with staunch resistance from the community, although many Muslims frequented *meyhanes* in nearby neighbourhoods (Akyazıcı Özkoçak, 2007: 971; Georgeon, 2002). Regulation of *meyhanes* aimed to police ethno-religious boundaries, reinforce the stratified social order and prevent Muslims from consuming alcohol:

One might even say that Muslims who frequented taverns found themselves in situations of marginality, not only because they drank wine, but because these were places of social intermingling and ethno-religious promiscuity (Georgeon, 2002: 14).

In the 19th century, *meyhanes* began to infiltrate Muslim districts of Istanbul. The political reforms of this century made alcohol more accessible, and even encouraged its consumption as a display of modernity, a point I revisit later in this section.

The third type of food establishment crucial to understanding Ottoman public food consumption were *imarets* (also known as public kitchens or soup kitchens), established throughout the Ottoman provinces from 1330 to 1890 (Singer, 2012: 74). Imarets were ‘part of endowments (evkaf, sing, vakıf)’ (Singer, 2010: 71) founded by the state or established families. They were run by these charitable organisations, providing welfare facilities such as mosques, schools, hospitals, hospices, public baths and caravansarays (Singer, 2012: 72). Among the beneficiaries were ‘imperial officials, travellers of different kinds, scholars and students from local *medreses* (colleges), Sufis, the staffs of the mosque-complexes in which the kitchens were mostly located, and also some poor people’ (Singer, 2010: 71). While *imarets* welcomed people from all class backgrounds, social status was marked by seats placed on a platform for individuals for higher social status, whose food was served on shared plates -based on an assumption that their good manners would allow them to share equally- and in bigger quantities. Although some only served soup, which was the main item across all *imarets*, others also offered bread, special dishes on holidays, and delicacies, and even had separate menus for important guests (Singer, 2010: 75). Serving food free of charge, *imarets* formed part of a system of patronage through which the Ottoman elites gained prestige and legitimacy for their privileges (see Singer, 2010, 2012). They also helped build an Ottoman identity through standardising the Ottoman cuisine by serving the same dishes across the empire, from the Balkans to the Arabic-speaking provinces (Singer, 2010: 71).



Figure 5: The gate of Mihrişah Sultan İmaretî in Eyüp, Istanbul

Source: Nidayi (2017). The inscription reads: ‘And they give of their food in spite of their love for it, to the poor, the orphan, and the captive (saying), “We feed you for the sake of Allah alone; we desire from you no reward, nor thanks”’ (Qur’an, Sure 76, verse 8-9, cited in Singer, 2010: 72).

Lastly, the Ottoman palace cuisine should be mentioned, since the palace not only offered public banquets, but also shaped cookery as a profession. In the early-modern period, the empire expanded its territories and gained control of trade routes connecting Asia, Europe and Africa, which helped source the palace kitchen with the finest ingredients (Karababa, 2012: 198; Işın, 2014: 2). From the 15th century onwards, an exponentially growing number of cooks created increasingly sophisticated dishes from these ingredients (Işın, 2014: 2). This laid the foundation for the ‘ascendency to a refined crescendo in the kitchens of the palace’ (Işın, 2014: 2).

The palace kitchen served the royal family, high-ranking officials and their staff on a daily basis. It also cooked ‘sacrificial offerings, gifts, meals for ambassadors and petitioners’ (Artan, 2000: 137). As noted in discussing *imarets*, food provision was among the sultan’s main duties (Boyar and Fleet, 2010: 158). In addition to organising festive meals in the capital city of Istanbul on special occasions such as circumcisions, accessions and wedding ceremonies, the palace ran *imarets* in the provinces,

controlled market prices, ensured availability of staple foods and oversaw the quality of foodstuffs sold in markets (Boyar and Fleet, 2010: 158-9; Singer, 2010, 2012). All this work required the employment of hundreds of cooks.

The Ottoman palace kitchen was organised hierarchically, yet its structure differed from the brigade system (the French culinary hierarchy that has shaped modern culinary work around the world). At the top were the *aşçıbaşı* [headchef] and *aşçı-yı sani* [sous chef], followed by *aşçıs* [chefs] specialising in food items such as *kebab*, desserts and *börek* [savoury pastry] (Samancı, 2008: 201; Samancı and Bilgin, 2010: 341). Similar to a station chef (or a line cook) in today's restaurants, an *aşçı* had his own subordinates called *kalfa* [assistant chef] and *aşçı neferi* [apprentice] (Samancı, 2008: 201). However, their main difference from a modern restaurant kitchen was the narrow specialisation of each station. Table 1 shows a simplified model of the Sultan's kitchen. In reality, there were more specialisms than listed in the figure (e.g. bakery, *pilaf* making, *şerbet* making), as well as multiple *kalfas* and *aşçı neferis* under each *aşçı*. Although it has gradually been replaced by the brigade system and has changed to some extent, this culinary structure still survives (see also Yenil and Kubiena, 2016: 65). One of my interlocutors, Sedat Usta, a self-trained cook with around 35 years' experience in the restaurant sector, explained it as follows:

Back in the day, it was not possible to obtain the title of *usta* [master] by having three to four months of culinary training, then spending four months in the kitchen.¹⁰ My generation would start working, say at the age of 11, and work as a *çırak* [apprentice] until they enlisted for the army.¹¹ [Your promotion was] on a par with your age and experience. You work as a *çırak*. Before enlisting, you mostly skin, slice, clean up after the *usta* ... After *çıraklık* [apprenticeship], you are promoted to a higher rank. We call [this position] *kalfa*, meaning assistant chef ... Then, becoming an *usta*... that's much later in the future. At least 10-15 years later.

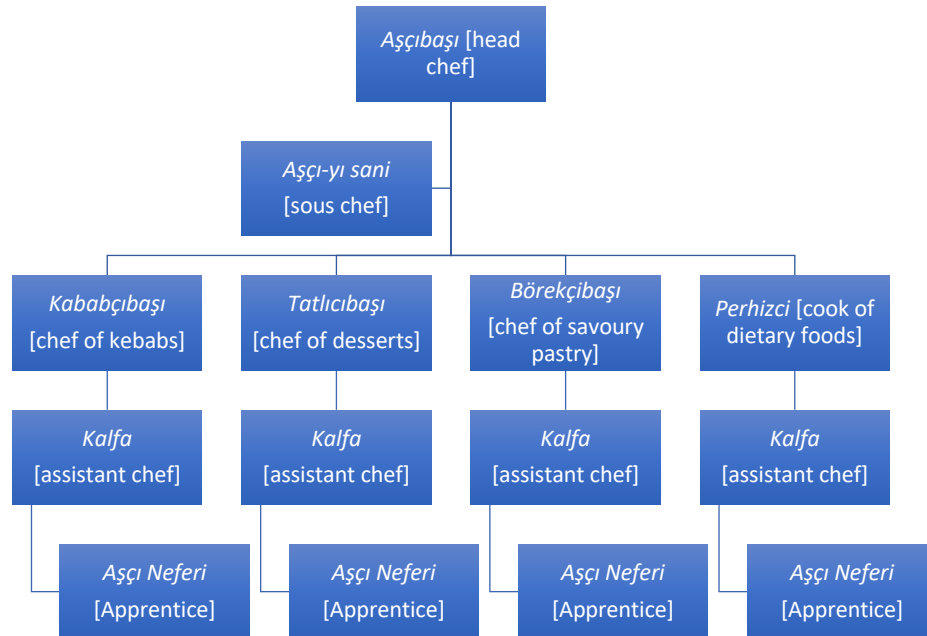
This account shows that Turkish restaurants adopted the organisational structure of the palace kitchen. Today, *aşçı* and *aşçı neferi* are respectively named *usta* and *çırak*, while the titles of *aşçıbaşı* and *kalfa* remain the same, and *aşçı* refers to all cooks irrespective of rank. Although not as narrow as in the Ottoman palace kitchen,

¹⁰ *Usta* literally translates as 'master', but stands for 'chef' in this context. It is also used in other crafts.

¹¹ *Çırak* literally translates as 'apprentice', and is also used in other crafts. Turkey has compulsory military service for all able-bodied males, which affects crucial life events such as marriage and employment. For non-skilled jobs, most employers require candidates to have finished their military service before applying, as they fear losing trained staff to conscription.

specialisation still continues, with *soğukçu* [chef of cold dishes], *sıcakçı* [chef of hot dishes] and *pastacı* [pastry chef] usually constituting the main specialisms.

Table 1: Organisational hierarchy in the sultan's kitchen



Source: Based on Samancı (2008: 201)

Another feature of the palace kitchen in common with modern restaurant kitchens was its recruitment of chefs from a particular province. From the 18th to the 19th centuries, chefs in the palace kitchen were recruited from Nevşehir, a central Anatolian province (Samancı and Bilgin, 2010: 341). These were replaced with chefs from Bolu (a north-western city) in the first half of the 19th century (Samancı and Bilgin, 2010: 341). The hegemony of the latter in professional kitchens outlived the empire and has lasted to the modern day. It is difficult to know whether this is because the city earned long-lasting fame as the birthplace of the best cooks in the country as a result of staffing the palace kitchen, or whether it is a remnant of a hereditary system in Ottoman guilds that strictly regulated access to crafts, or both.

In the Ottoman Empire, commercial public eateries such as *meyhanes* (see Georgeon, 2002: 21) and sweetshops (see Tzanelli, 2012: 164) operated as part of a guild. Practising one's trade, such as running an eatery, in a given locale necessitated a permission called *gedik*, which would be retained within a family for generations through patrilineal inheritance (Faroqhi, 2006: 352). In cases where a *gedik* holder did not have a successor, the oldest journeymen in the guild had a right to buy his *gedik* (Faroqhi, 2006: 352). Guilds also had control over the recruitment of workers, as

experienced masters supervised this process (Faroghi, 2006: 353). This organisational arrangement allowed guild members to monopolise the trade and ensure privileged access for their families and social networks. Especially during socio-economic downturns, they would try to prevent new entrants in order to avoid sharing the diminishing resources (see Faroghi, 2006: 353). In short, ‘the masters attempted to control access to raw materials, workplaces and auxiliary labour’ (Faroghi, 2006: 355). Although today’s chefs do not enjoy the same legal rights, recruitment through kinship ties and social networks allows them to benefit informally from some of these privileges and retain certain organisational practices. These include gatekeeping, collective bargaining and patronage, in addition to the hierarchical structure and promotion practices discussed above.

The available literature does not allow a decisive judgement on how these practices have survived, but we know that:

... the economic and political upheavals that beset Ottoman Empire in the first quarter of the 20th century both dealt Turkish haute cuisine serious blows from which it is still recovering. The kitchens of the wealthy upper classes, manned by the most accomplished and inventive cooks (...) had been repositories of the culinary knowledge and skills of haute cuisine, serving as educational institutions where these were passed on from master to apprentice. In the reversal of fortunes that affected so many families during these years, however, many cooks found themselves out of work or drafted into the army. Even the palace kitchens were severely affected. When Sultan Abdülhamid II was deposed in 1909, the staff of Yıldız Palace was largely dispersed, and his successor Sultan Mehmed Reşad’s new establishment at Dolmabahçe Palace was on a far more modest scale, and its kitchens obliged to comply with strict economies. (Işın, 2014: 7)

It has been suggested by food writer and political scientist, Artun Ünsal (2003) that some of these chefs opened *esnaf lokantaları* [tradesmen’s diners] in various districts of Istanbul – a phenomenon similar to the birth of the restaurant in Paris after the French Revolution.¹² Others may have been recruited by Western-style restaurants, which appeared in Istanbul in the second half of the 19th century. This would explain the centuries-long continuity in the organisational practices discussed above.

¹² In the French context, the dissolution of the *ancien régime*, the formation of the bourgeoisie and the loosening of the guild system allowed chefs trained in aristocratic households to open restaurants around a century before their Ottoman counterparts (Lane, 2014: 12).

3.2 Formation of a modern restaurant sector in Istanbul: *selatin meyhane*, *esnaf lokantası*, *alafranga restaurant*¹³

So far, I have examined commercial and non-commercial eateries in the Ottoman Empire and palace cuisine, which laid the foundations for Turkish haute cuisine, revealing that early-modern eateries and chefs bequeathed organisational practices and culinary knowledge to modern restaurants. While this continuity helps understand certain aspects of the contemporary restaurant sector, it is also important to note the dramatic changes that took place from the 19th century onwards. Commercial treaties with Britain in 1838 and 1861, as well as with other European countries in subsequent years, introduced market liberalism to the empire, while the right to buy property granted to foreigners during the Tanzimat period (1839-1876) and the Crimean War (1853-1856) increased the political, social and economic influence of Europe over Istanbul (Arslan and Polat, 2015: 104; Karpat, 2002: 267). European tradesmen, bankers, diplomats, military personnel, journalists and travellers settled in or visited Istanbul in growing numbers (Arslan and Polat, 2015: 104; Georgeon, 2002: 16; Karpat, 2002; Ünsal, 2003). Banks, trading houses, diplomatic missions, Western-style schools, theatres and shops were opened in non-Muslim districts, especially in Pera, creating a clientele for hotels, cafés, *selatin meyhaneler* ['noble' taverns] and restaurants (Arslan and Polat, 2015: 104; Georgeon, 2002: 21; Karpat, 2002: 272-3; Samancı, 2008: 215). For example, the *Hotel d'Angleterre* and the *Hotel de Luxembourg* in Pera were renowned for their high-end, Western-style restaurants (Arslan and Polat, 2015: 104). These served not only the new European residents and visitors to Istanbul, but also the Ottoman elites, who increasingly adopted European languages, culture and consumption habits, such as 'going three times a week to the theatre and to dinners, and occasionally to balls where only the upper class was invited' (Karpat, 2002: 276; see also Samancı, 2008: 199; Ünsal, 2003).

'Westernisation' of the Ottoman cuisine was also visible in the palace, where French-style banquets were organised for European representatives' visits: 'The food served during these feasts, which required the use of high tables, chairs, special silverware, and service sets, consisted of Ottoman and European dishes' (Samancı, 2008: 202-15). European – mainly French – chefs were employed in the palace kitchen and in aristocratic households (Samancı, 2008: 202). For example, the Ottoman

¹³ *Alafranga* refers to European cultural forms in Ottoman.

Minister of Education, Mısırlı Fazıl Mustafa Paşa employed 45 French and 45 local cooks in 1862 (Işın, 2014: 7). By the end of the century, French cuisine and etiquette had become status symbols embraced by Ottoman bureaucrats and the emerging bourgeoisie (Işın, 2014: 7; Artan, 2000: 165).¹⁴ This cultural hegemony found its way into urban households through cookbooks such as *Ev Kadını* [*The Housewife*], published in 1882, which introduced European recipes and French culinary terms (Işın, 2014: 7).

What is today celebrated (and marketed) as Ottoman cuisine is, for the most part, the product of this 19th-century enterprise blending Ottoman and European culinary expertise and ingredients to create an Istanbulite ‘fusion cuisine’. A well-known example is *hünkârbeğendi*, an Ottoman dish cooked with French *béchamel* sauce. The sector’s hegemony of cooks from Bolu, the influence of European culinary techniques and table manners, *esnaf lokantaları* [tradesmen’s diners], a dignified *meyhane* [tavern] culture (Georgeon, 2002: 21), European-style cafés and restaurants, all of which emerged in the last century of the empire, were inherited by the Turkish Republic founded in 1923. Istanbul’s foodscapes still somewhat reflect this culinary heritage, as cafés, restaurants and pubs following cutting-edge culinary trends stand side-by-side with ‘traditional’ *meyhanes* in Beyoğlu (formerly Pera), for example. The fine-dining sector also drew on this heritage, as some restaurants specialised in European cuisines (especially Italian and French), some reinterpreted *esnaf lokantası* [tradesmen’s diner] through French culinary techniques in pursuit of the contemporary localism trend, and others reinvented the Ottoman palace cuisine.

As previously mentioned, the restaurant industry burgeoning during the last decades of the empire was hit very hard by social, political and economic events surrounding World War I, such as the Armenian Genocide (1915) and the Population Exchange with Greece (1923). As a result of losing millions of lives to conflict and forced migration during these turbulent years, among them a predominantly non-Muslim urban stratum of bankers, traders and industrialists, and of protectionist economic policies, the sector was stifled in the early republican period. The violent uprooting of non-Muslim communities continued for decades through the notorious

¹⁴ For lack of a better term, I refer to the upper crust of 19th-century Istanbul residents as the bourgeoisie. Historians have tended to avoid the term in the Ottoman context, as its transition to capitalism and resulting social stratification have been markedly different from its European counterparts. For further discussion, see Eldem (2014).

Wealth Tax (1942) and the Istanbul Pogrom (6-7 September 1955), to name but a few (see also Maessen, 2017: 51). Although Istanbul remained the cultural and economic capital of the Turkish Republic, its social composition changed almost entirely during the 20th century. As previously discussed, from running *meyhanes* – probably the type of pre-modern Ottoman eatery closest to a modern restaurant – to establishing the first modern restaurants in Istanbul, non-Muslim communities played a pioneering role in the formation of Turkey’s modern restaurant sector. While this cannot be reduced to numbers, the dramatic decline in the non-Muslim population from 19.1 per cent in 1914 to 2.5 per cent in 1927, and to 0.2 per cent in 2005 conveys a rough idea of the deep cultural, social and economic lacuna created by their loss (İçduygu et al., 2008: 363). An interlocutor conveyed how the influence of non-Muslim communities on Istanbul’s culinary culture and restaurant sector survived despite the carnage until the 1970s:

With their Istanbulite traditions and habits – especially with regard to Western food and beverage consumption – my family and immediate social environment were even more progressive than today. Back then, we would have ‘fine’ charcuterie days at home, with pork chops, red cabbage with apple and mashed potatoes from *Sutte*, a butcher almost fully specialising in pork. Similarly, we would have *kartoffelpuffer* – this was similar to potato *mücver* [fritters] – and we children loved it. *Topik*, an Armenian mezze, was an indispensable part of our dinner table on New Year’s Eve! Also, home-cooked seabass with mayonnaise, ground uncooked celery, peeled clementine slices, whipped cream salad (it was called *crème şantiye* and bought from patisseries), beef tongue, jellied trotters, Russian salad, *nuar haşlama* [beef stew] with white sauce, are the ones that first come to mind. Of course, we had *à la turca* food, especially olive oil dishes, but we would also have numerous dishes from foreign cuisines in addition to those listed above. In essence, there are two reasons for this: first, Istanbul was still a very cosmopolitan city up until the second half of the 1970s ([remember] Turkey’s intervention in Cyprus in 1974), as Greek, Armenian, Jewish, plus the remaining descendants from the White Russians, as we used to call them, who fled the Revolution between 1911 and 1917, were still alive and in our lives through social interactions and their restaurants. Additionally, families descending from the Italian, British and Levantines (you [the author] would know them well as a local of Izmir), who settled in Turkey as office workers following the Capitulations,¹⁵ many people, generations of German and Austrian Jews who fled from World War

¹⁵ Capitulations were concessions to foreign traders or states, granting rights of residence, trade and local jurisdiction, given by Ottoman sultans unilaterally from the 16th century onwards (Angell, 1901). Following the Küçük Kaynarca Treaty with Russia in 1774, they became reciprocal treaties that could not be unilaterally revoked by the Ottoman sultan (Ahmad, 2000: 2).

II were still around, despite being on the fringes of [community] life. Places like *Fischer*, *Rejans*, the last example of which was *Rus Lokantası* [Russian Restaurant], helped shape Istanbul cuisine for generations before me.

Because these non-Muslim community members were both restaurateurs and patrons, socio-political events in which most were killed and/or displaced strained the Turkish restaurant sector. It was revitalised only after the creation of a new upper-middle class in the 1980s as a result of neoliberal reforms.

3.3 Neoliberal restructuring and the renaissance of Turkish haute cuisine

Until 1980, the Turkish economy had a protectionist model based on import substitution. Using the political turmoil of the 1970s as an excuse, the military launched a coup d'état in September 1980 and remained in power for three years. Having been violently suppressed, leftist organisations and workers' unions lost their political power, which played a decisive role in politics in the 1970s. A centre-right government under Turgut Özal's leadership came to power in 1983 when the parliamentary regime was restored, inheriting a constitution that strengthened the military and the state at the expense of civil society. The path was thereby cleared for a neoliberal offensive against the working class (Karataşlı, 2015; Öniş, 2012), which drastically changed the Turkish economy (also see Öniş, 2011; Potuoğlu-Cook, 2006; Sandıkcı et al., 2016).

The import-substitution strategies of the previous decades were replaced with an export-oriented model (Potuoğlu-Cook, 2006: 636), and state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and public services were gradually privatised (Potuoğlu-Cook, 2006: 636). This incremental approach enabled the government to 'extend property ownership to wider segments of the society as part of its program of "popular capitalism"' (Öniş, 1998:154, cited in Karataşlı, 2015: 406). 'This first phase of neoliberal restructuring entailed a positive approach to foreign capital, expansion of the service and consumer goods industries, and expansion of the financial and retailing sectors' (Sandıkcı et al., 2016: 307). These policies, implemented in the hope of becoming an EU member state and following guidance from the IMF and the World Bank, further integrated Turkey into the global capitalist economy, created some economic growth, and increased access to consumer goods. However, indebtedness and reliance on foreign investment dragged the country into successive economic crises in 1994, 2000 and 2001 (Potuoğlu-Cook, 2006: 636; Sandıkcı et al., 2016: 307).

In 2002, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) gained a majority in parliament, to some extent on the back of resentment resulting from the economic crises. On the economic front, the AKP furthered neoliberal restructuring, especially through accelerated privatisation (Sandıkcı et al., 2016: 305) and by establishing the regulatory mechanisms necessary for the working of a free-market economy (Öniş, 2012). Aided by ‘an unusually favorable global liquidity environment’ (Öniş, 2012: 139) and socio-political reforms implemented as part of the EU accession process, Turkey under the AKP government was able to attract foreign capital investment. As is well known, a new global division of labour was instituted under neoliberalism, as multinational corporations (MNCs) took advantage of trade liberalisation and market deregulation from the 1980s onwards. These corporations outsourced manufacturing jobs to the Global South, while accumulating intellectual property and profits in the Global North (Sandıkcı et al., 2016: 305-6). Although the working class in the Global North suffered, countries like China, India and Turkey experienced rapid economic growth as a result of foreign direct investment (Sandıkcı et al., 2016: 305-6). Coupled with low inflation, this economic growth had significant trickle-down effects in Turkey, evidenced in an increase in GDP per capita ‘from \$3,492 in 2002 to \$10,067 in 2010’ (Öniş, 2012: 140) and a decrease in the rate of poverty ‘from 27 percent in 2002 to 18 percent in 2009’ (Öniş, 2012: 140).

Turkish neoliberalism was marked by the rise of a new capitalist class, especially among the pious Muslim circles of central Anatolia, in large part owing to small and medium-sized enterprise (SME) development policies (see Karataşlı, 2015: 406; Buğra and Savaşkan, 2014: 67-8). These were first adopted by the government in the 1970s, and a specialist agency was formed under the Ministry of Industry in 1973 (Buğra and Savaşkan, 2014: 67). Later initiatives included ‘technology-related support programs to improve the entrepreneurial capabilities of the SMEs’ (Buğra and Savaşkan, 2014: 67) between 1989 and 1994, the establishment of a Directorate for the Development and Support of Small and Medium Enterprises (Turkish acronym KOSGEB) in 1990, preferential credit arrangements throughout the 1990s, the implementation of a strategic action plan in conformity with EU and OECD standards, and an extension of support provisions to service-sector enterprises from 2003 onwards (Buğra and Savaşkan, 2014: 67). Some SMEs grew so much that they not only turned into conglomerates operating in a number of sectors, such as energy,

tourism and construction, but also gained major government contracts, allegedly aided by favouritism.

The above-mentioned policies created high levels of growth in the service and financial sectors from the 1980s onwards. Tourism, in particular, became the engine for economic development, as the industry's profits grew 'from US\$770 million in 1985 to US\$3.6 billion by 1992' (Potuoğlu-Cook, 2006: 637; see also Table 1). The government and entrepreneurs invested in the commodification of Turkey's historic heritage, natural sites and culinary culture (Potuoğlu-Cook, 2006: 636-7). Legislative changes were made to allow privatisation and marketing of cultural riches in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s (Buğra and Savaşkan, 2014: 83; Potuoğlu-Cook, 2006: 637; Sandıkcı et al., 2016: 307). Imperial sites in Istanbul, such as Dolmabahçe Palace Gardens, Yıldız Palace Gardens and Sultanahmet Imperial Prison, were turned into hotels with the assistance of foreign investors and the local government (Potuoğlu-Cook, 2006: 637). Privatisation, public tenders and public-private partnerships played a crucial role in the development of these businesses (Buğra and Savaşkan, 2014: 89).

Table 2: Growth of the tourism sector 1996–2016

Year	Travel and Tourism Revenue (\$)	Contribution of Tourism to Reducing Turkey's Trade Deficit (%)
1996	7,970,722	39.07
2000	9,990,841	37.38
2004	20,262,640	58.95
2008	30,979,979	44.3
2012	36,776,645	43.75
2016	22,107,440	39.48

Source: Compiled by the author from TÜRSAB, n.d.(a) and (b).

Growth in the tourism sector benefited the restaurant sector in many ways. Some conglomerates invested in or created partnerships across the tourism, restaurant, culinary education and media sectors simultaneously. These ensured that their activities in one sector supported those in others. Culinary schools met the need for qualified labour in restaurants, media outlets promoted both career opportunities in the culinary sector and tourism, hotels and restaurants jointly created an international clientele, travel agencies' marketing of the culinary riches benefited restaurants, and so on. For example, having finished her training at Le Cordon Bleu School of Cookery in London, Ceylan Orhun was invited to write one of the first gastronomy columns in

Turkey for a magazine published by Sheraton Hotels. After writing restaurant reviews in this outlet under the title ‘Food for Thought’ for about a year, Orhun transferred to the *Güneş* newspaper, where she had a column entitled ‘Yemek Sanatı [The Art of Eating]’ between 1982 and 1988. Her experience attests to the rebirth of the restaurant sector with the help of related sectors, as shown in the following excerpt from our interview:

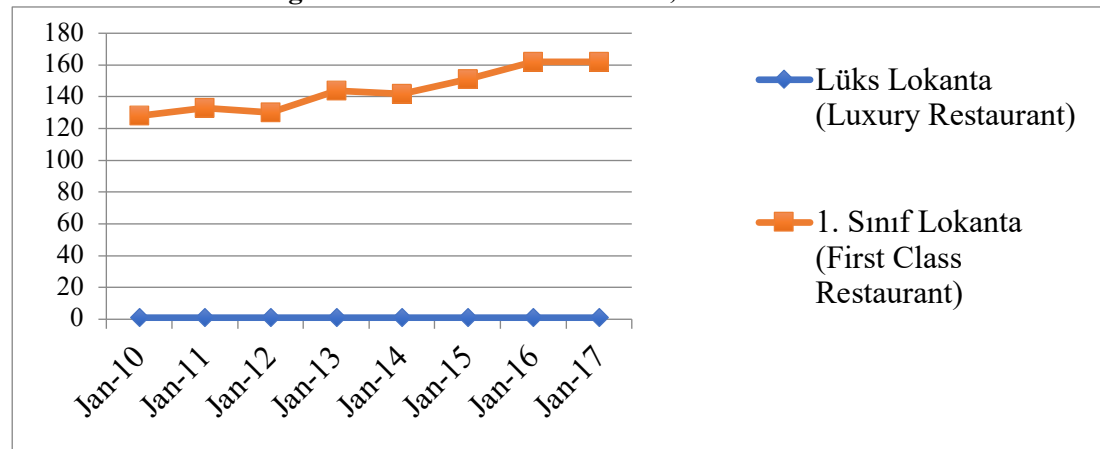
In 1982, there were a handful of elite restaurants. Besides, one could only dream of more in a city governed by martial law where the night-time curfews were still in place [since the 1980 coup d’état]. A ripple was formed as the 1990s drew closer, the effects of which became more visible in the 2000s. Thus, ... I had to write many reviews on ordinary restaurants, from an eatery specialising in poultry over the hills of Sarıyer [the northernmost district of Istanbul, less populated than central districts] to an offal-serving *meyhane* in Haliç [the Golden Horn], just to fill my column every week. ... Quite naturally, there must be places where ‘gourmet’ food is served and consumed for one to be able to write as a ‘gourmet’. Writings on regular diners belongs to ‘tourist guides’ as a genre. I started to interview chefs from Michelin-starred restaurants [abroad] or those [abroad] close to their calibre and the food they served during those interviews due to the scarcity of places in Istanbul on which I could write ‘gourmet’ pieces: from the Dorchester Hotel’s executive chef, Anton Mossiman to the Roux brothers, from London’s famous Ménage à Trois to the top five Swiss restaurants, many including those from Germany.

Orhun was among the first restaurant critics in Turkey to start writing regularly on the subject around 1980. She stands out not only as a pioneer in this sub-discipline of gastronomy, but also as one of the first women to gain a culinary education and seek employment as a chef in the high-end Turkish restaurant sector. Unsurprisingly, her application was turned down by a Dutch executive chef managing the kitchen of a five-star hotel, who told her during the job interview that professional cooking was ‘a man’s job’. While being denied access to her desired career, she seized the opportunity to be part of a sub-sector emerging at the crossroads of media, literature and gastronomy.

The gastronomy literature, particularly in its popular form, contributed to the ongoing process of creating demand for eating out. While tourists constituted a considerable proportion of (especially high-end) restaurant customers in Turkey, the local population was also increasingly drawn to it. Pre-2002 data are unavailable, but the Turkish Statistical Institute’s Household Consumption Expenditures Survey

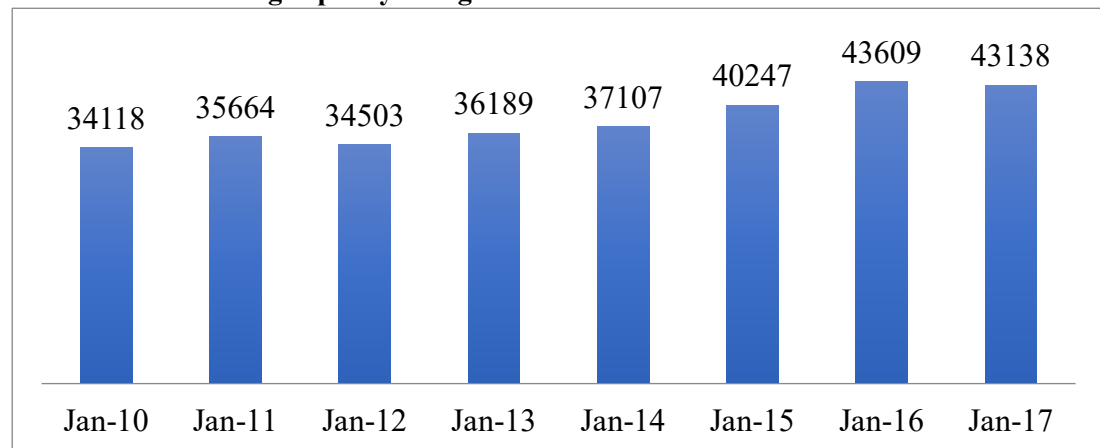
suggests a steady increase, from 4.9 per cent in 2002 to 6.3 per cent in 2013, in expenditure on restaurants and hotels among the urban population (TurkStat, 2013c).

Table 3: Number of high-end restaurants in Istanbul, 2010-2017



Source: Compiled by the author from statistics published by the Istanbul Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism (2010, 2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017a, 2017b)

Table 4: Total seating capacity of high-end restaurants in Istanbul



Source: Compiled by the author from statistics published by the Istanbul Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism (2010, 2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017a, 2017b)

The fact that the local population now eats out more often is closely related to a change in Turkey's class composition. Turkey has been exceptional among OECD countries for decreasing its income inequality in the neoliberal era through formal and informal redistribution mechanisms (see Karataşlı, 2015: 407; Öniş, 2012: 137). Foreign direct investment, privatisation and expansion of the finance and service sectors have created a new industrial and professional class known as 'third world cosmopolitans ... and new consumers' (Altan-Olcay and Balta, 2016: 1109), which have largely displaced the government-employed 'central pillar' of Turkish society, as Turgut Özal called them (Sandıkcı et al., 2016: 305-6). 'The new middle class'

(Kravets and Sandikci, 2014: 125) of engineers, finance experts, restaurant owners, etc. has more disposable income and are shaped by the consumerist ideology of the Özal era. ‘As the central location of Turkey’s integration into the global economy’ (Rutz and Balkan, 2013: 25, cited in Kinoğlu, 2014: 26), Istanbul has undergone a dramatic change in order to accommodate the productive activities, consumption practices and lifestyles of the new middle class.



Figure 6: Maslak, Istanbul in 2007

Source: Barut (2007). Formerly a village on the outskirts of Istanbul, Maslak was incorporated into the city centre in the 1950s. In the last three decades, it has come to symbolise the neoliberal urban transformation with its ever-higher skyscrapers that host the headquarters of MNCs, banks, shopping malls and upscale restaurants. Surrounded and dwarfed by skyscrapers is a leading culinary school, impossible to spot in these pictures.

To attract tourists to Istanbul, the local government adopted the globally trending strategy of city branding, based on ‘place marketing, image creation and city-based identity formation so as to make the city as desirable as possible’ through ‘commodification of urban real estate and subsequent gentrification’ (Eder and Öz, 2014: 285). Historical districts of Istanbul, such as Beyoğlu, were ‘reinvented’ as cosmopolitan owing to their multi-ethnic history, yet this imagined cosmopolitanism did not prevent the destruction of historic heritage (Maessen, 2017: 48).

Metropolitan mayor, Bedrettin Dalan (a politician from Özal’s Motherland Party) launched an ambitious plan to ‘clean up the dirt’ (Maessen, 2017: 54) in Beyoğlu. The plan included building a motorway, the Tarlabaşı Boulevard, in the middle of the district, which resulted in the demolition of 370 historic buildings. These had been constructed by the non-Muslim community in the late 19th century and had been occupied by the urban poor since the mid-20th century (Maessen, 2017: 55). The boulevard functioned as a physical barrier between the commercial part of the district around Istiklal Avenue (formerly *Grand Rue de Pera*) and its more residential area, where the historic housing stock was crumbling due to the authorities’ decades-long neglect. The commercial area was restored and cleaned, and additional lighting was

installed for ‘sanitization of movement and standardization of space as essential to local gentrifying efforts’ (Potuoğlu-Cook, 2006: 636), in order to create an enclave of culture, trade and commerce. These bore fruit, especially in the 1990s as the new middle class began to frequent Beyoğlu for cultural production and consumption in the art galleries, cinemas, cafés, restaurants and *meyhanes* in this ‘aesthetically enchanting cultural district’ (Macleod, 2004: 257, cited in Eder and Öz, 2014: 286). Ferda Erdinç, founding owner of *Zencefil* Restaurant in Beyoğlu, recounted the district’s transition:

Should be ’88 or ’89, *Zencefil* was not yet opened, Istanbul Film Festival was the only real and exciting social event. In the first week of the festival, İstiklal [Avenue] would transfigure into a setting for a street festival. People not seen around for the whole year would have hearty conversations and not many would wander in the street. There were *meyhanes*. Nevizade was not yet around. In fact, there was Çiçek Pasajı. Asmalı Mescit was, of course, not in its current shape. That is to say, people from my generation, some of whom worked in the marketing sector, opened several establishments with great enthusiasm using their limited means. The end product of that process was *Babylon*. There was *Pozitif*, organizing concerts, but they didn’t have a venue.¹⁶ The arrival of ‘White Turks’,¹⁷ to use a fashionable term, in this area was only after [the opening of] *Babylon*. Again, the arrival of the younger generation in pursuit of music is owed to *Babylon*. In other words, those of us who built this place [Beyoğlu] and those who own it [make it what it is] are from the same generation with only one or two years’ age difference. So, that’s how we gradually moulded Beyoğlu in the ’90s. We were here as both consumers and wanderers in the streets, but most importantly as the founders of establishments that attracted people to visit and discover these places (Erdinç and Özcan, 2013).

The excerpt above shows that the new middle class contributed to the neoliberal restructuring of Beyoğlu in the 1990s as both consumers and entrepreneurs of cultural commodities. Another illuminating aspect of this account is its portrayal of Beyoğlu as an amalgam of small enclaves specialising in certain ‘consumption bundles’ (Eder and Öz, 2014: 285). These are branded and marketed to both local and international tourists, with modern upscale restaurants and pubs in Asmalı Mescit, *meyhanes* in

¹⁶ Nevizade is a small entertainment enclave close to İstiklal Avenue. Çiçek Pasajı, formerly known as *Cité de Péra*, is an arcade on İstiklal Avenue hosting florists, restaurants and *meyhanes*. Asmalı Mescit is a small enclave of upscale cafés, restaurants and pubs in Beyoğlu. *Babylon* is a music venue founded in 1999 in Beyoğlu which hosts local and international artists. *Pozitif* is an event management company.

¹⁷ Referring to the urban upper-middle class supposedly descending from the Kemalist elites of the late imperial and early republican period.

Çiçek Pasajı, eateries specialising in street food and entertainment establishments in Nevizade, art galleries in Tophane, and so on. Eder and Öz argue that this type of commercialisation creates a spatial segmentation of the city along economic and aesthetic lines (2014: 285). In Istanbul:

At the highest end is the Bebek-Ortaköy coastline on the Bosphorus strip, which claims to offer a unique, authentic Istanbul experience right by the strait. Next in line is a district called Nişantaşı with high-end shops, boutiques and entertainment locales. At the middle and lower end is Beyoğlu, which is the oldest entertainment neighborhood in the city and is now the target of a comprehensive urban renewal and transformation project (Eder and Öz, 2014: 285).

The above-mentioned areas are historical districts of Istanbul. It is important to note that gentrification has also taken place in more recently built neighbourhoods. Here, it has tended to appear in the form of homogenised zones of ‘glittering office and hotel atriums, themed leisure zones, upscale shopping centers, gentrified housing, and aesthetically enchanting cultural districts’ (Macleod, 2004: 257, cited in Eder and Öz, 2014: 286).

What is most interesting for the purposes of this research is that high-end restaurants and culinary schools have popped up in and around these gentrified areas. A restaurant specialising in Ottoman cuisine appeared within the historic city walls; a restaurant inspired by *esnaf lokantaları* [tradesmen’s diners] and a modern teahouse appeared in close proximity to the 19th-century European bank edifices; upscale *meyhanes* were established along the Bosphorus strip; and high-end restaurants with open kitchens rented spaces in the glittering shopping malls and office towers of Levent, Maslak, Nişantaşı, etc. Most of the prestigious culinary schools that have opened in the last two decades are within a stone’s throw of a shopping mall, a commercial enclave of upscale eateries or a luxury gated community. In short, the new middle class carved out gentrified urban spaces, and within them resurrected the Turkish *haute cuisine* as investors, consumers, professionals in ancillary industries (gastronomy researchers, food writers, TV presenters, etc.) and, more recently, as cooks.



Figure 7: Cezayir Street, a.k.a. Fransız Street

Source: Peace01234 (2012). In close proximity to Istiklal Avenue and right behind the francophone Galatasaray High School, the street was renovated and commercialised in the early 2000s. It is now one of the small gentrified enclaves in Beyoğlu that host mainly cafés, restaurants and boutique hotels, some with beautiful views of the Golden Horn and the old city.

3.4 Emergence of a culinary education sector

A pressing need for qualified staff emerged, especially as the higher-end segments of the tourism and restaurant sectors grew. In 1991, a survey conducted by the Turkish Ministry of Tourism concluded that the sector needed 100,000 new employees, but estimated that only 13,000 would graduate that year from the 62 tourism schools open at the time (Brotherton et al., 1994: 110). Therefore, the government took the initiative to establish new specialist education institutions in close cooperation with the Turkish Ministries of Tourism and Education, Yükseköğretim Kurumu (YÖK, the Turkish Council for Higher Education), Turkish trade associations (primarily the Turkish Travel Agencies Association, the Turkish Tourism Investors' Association and the Turkish Touristic Hoteliers Association) and Sınai Eğitim ve Geliştirme Merkezi (SEGEM, Turkish Industrial Training and Development Centre) (Brotherton et al., 1994). While these efforts proved useful in developing a tourism education industry, they fell short of closing the gap. Consequently, in the early 1990s the government

took out substantial loans from the World Bank and started an ambitious capacity development project (Brotherton et al., 1994: 109). It invited consultants from the International Labour Organization (ILO), as well as a number of academics from the UK (Brotherton et al., 1994). At the time, vocational high schools, vocational advanced schools, and undergraduate and postgraduate schools were teaching tourism-related subjects, amounting to less than a hundred in total. The consultants found that these lacked qualified teachers, appropriate facilities and equipment, curricula specifically tailored to the Turkish context, enthusiastic students with the necessary qualifications and paid industrial training opportunities (Brotherton et al., 1994). Thus, international fellowships were introduced for academics, occupational standards were established, certification and accreditation systems were put in place, a new curriculum was developed for tourism students, and tourism education was divided into four specialisms (front office, housekeeping, food and beverage services, and food production). This marked the beginning of professional culinary education in Turkey, although the plan's roll-out was later impeded by a change of government and the freezing of World Bank funds. This also meant the professionalisation of culinary work, although it was still regarded as a sub-category of tourism and hospitality.

In the 2000s, the culinary sector gained relative autonomy from the tourism sector. This was mainly as a result of the gradual establishment of gastronomy on the global stage, as an autonomous field of intellectual pursuit, cultural consumption and professional expertise. A multidisciplinary endeavour, gastronomy engages with a broad array of issues, including sustainable agriculture, cooking techniques, food writing, wine production, hygiene and sanitation in food production, culinary cultures, and culinary history (see also Dinçer et al., 2014: 21). Thanks to its numerous practical applications, gastronomy has created its own ancillary sectors, such as education, publishing, media, tourism, agriculture, and food and beverage manufacturing (Dinçer et al., 2014: 21). The industry has grown through partnerships with public (e.g. the Culture and Tourism Ministry, the Turkish Council for Higher Education, local governments), private (e.g. restaurateurs, tourist agencies, investors in private education) and third-sector organisations (e.g. Association of Tourism Restaurant Investors and Managers, and the Association of Turkish Tourism Agencies, TÜRSAB). These aimed to ride the wave of global trends in tourism and capitalise on Turkey's rich and diverse culinary cultures throughout the 2000s. In the 2010s, they

collaborated in annual events, such as the Cittaslow Eco-Gastronomy Congress, the International Gastro-Tourism Congress and Gastro-Entertainment Istanbul, as well as in the publication of magazines and academic journals, such as *Eko-Gastronomi Dergisi* [Journal of Eco-Gastronomy] and *Metro Gastro*, and in local ventures (for example, see Kızılırmak Havzası Gastronomi ve Yürüyüş Yolları [Kızılırmak Gastronomy and Tracking Path], cited in Dinçer et al., 2014: 21). All of these popularised gastronomy, increased demand for healthy, tasty, sustainable and well-presented food, and cultivated a desire for culinary training, resulting in the commercialisation of almost all elements of gastronomy, from culinary education to culinary culture. In fact, culinary education in Turkey reached international standards through private institutions established by industry leaders in the 2000s.

The first private culinary school, Mutfak Sanatları Akademisi [Culinary Arts Academy] was established in Istanbul in 2004 by Mehmet Kemal Aksel. Aksel began his career in the early 1990s as an auto-trader in Levent, a district of Istanbul known for its business towers (Arman, 2006). His business was struggling in the aftermath of the 1994 economic crisis. He met Tuğrul Şavkay, a well-known gourmet, author and academic with experience in all ranks of culinary work, from being an errand boy to management consultancy. The duo partnered up in the 1990s to turn Aksel's showroom into *Café Turc* (Arman, 2006). After a few years of success which allowed them to become a local chain, *Café Turc* was adversely affected by the 1994 economic crisis and sold. Aksel's next venture was a brasserie chain. Its first branch opened in Nişantaşı, a neighbourhood with high-end restaurants, clubs, boutiques and luxury real estate. This business was also profitable for a number of years, but was severely affected by the economic crises of 2000 and 2001 (Arman, 2006). However, his most recent and probably most lucrative investment is Mutfak Sanatları Akademisi. As for Şavkay, he founded the Gastronomy and Culinary Arts Department at semi-private Yeditepe University.¹⁸ Opened in 2003, the department was the first of its kind in

¹⁸ Turkey has two types of university: public and foundation. The latter are established by foundations linked to corporations, usually owned by a wealthy family. Although these are non-profits, they are usually referred to as 'private universities', mainly because of their high tuition fees and their links to corporations. Turkey provides free higher education, which means that tuition fees in public universities amount to not much more than an administration fee. It is worth noting that the president of the board of trustees at İstek Vakfı (the foundation behind Yeditepe University) is Bedrettin Dalan, former mayor of Istanbul and a founding member of Özal's Anavatan Partisi [Motherland Party] with its policies of gentrification (see Section 3.3).

Turkey. Both schools enjoyed popularity and had established their brands within a few years.

The success of these pioneering private culinary schools has encouraged further investments in the culinary education sector. The number of institutions of all shapes and sizes (foundation university departments, internationally accredited private schools, round-the-corner workshops, etc.) has grown exponentially in the last 15 years. For instance, thirty more gastronomy and culinary arts departments are being established in universities each year (Akoğlu et al., 2017: 147). Although it is difficult to assess the growth of the culinary education sector outside universities and public schools owing to a lack of publicly available data, indicators include: the opening of prestigious new schools in recent years, such as Eyüp Kemal Sevinç Mutfak Akademisi (EKS), Uluslararası Servis ve Lezzet Akademisi (USLA), Doors Academy, Istanbul Culinary Institute, Le Cordon Bleu Istanbul, Sekan Bozkurt Mutfak Akademisi and Murat Bozok's Kitchen (Doğan, 2014); a growing number of educated cooks in professional kitchens, as established in this research (see also Batuman, 2010; Yenal and Kubiena, 2016: 69); and small workshops popping up incessantly in Istanbul's neighbourhoods (an observation I made as a resident of Istanbul between 2004 and 2014, as well as during my subsequent research visits).

Culinary schools benefited from a favourable climate in Turkey. The growing hospitality and restaurant sectors provided high levels of employability for their graduates – until the saturation of the labour market and shrinkage of the sector due to political and economic crises in recent years. Educated cooks were often preferred over self-trained cooks because they did not have occupational networks to support them and protect their rights, most of them were from the post-coup generation, which is depoliticised and distanced from workers' unions, most had no other option but to accept lower wages if they wanted to find a job at an age considered too old for entry by the sector's standards (beyond teenage years), they were willing to self-sacrifice as they loved their new jobs, and having better education and coming from middle-class backgrounds made them more 'presentable', allowing them to relate better to patrons, foreign executive chefs and managers.

Especially in the early years of the culinary education sector, students' comprehension of culinary practice/work went little beyond its aestheticised and glorified representations in movies (e.g. *Chocolat*, released in 2000; *Facing Windows*, released in 2000; *No Reservations*, released in 2007; *Ratatouille*, released in 2007;

Alone, released in 2008; *Julie and Julia*, released in 2009; see also Chapter 5). Culinary schools capitalised on these representations, and on urban myths of high chefs' salaries and increasing unemployment, all of which persist. Within half a decade, they were packed with eager students from all backgrounds, but mostly white-collar workers looking for an escape from routine office work. While upper-middle-class students constituted the majority due to high tuition fees, students from modest backgrounds gained more access as student loans tailored to culinary programmes became available in the second half of the 2010s.

Private culinary schools invested heavily in changing public perceptions of culinary work in order to attract more students. In the 2000s, culinary work was still usually regarded as a low skill, dull, blue-collar job. As such, it was seen as suitable for young people from working-class backgrounds whose academic achievements were not good enough for upward class mobility. The counter-narrative circulated by culinary schools, primarily through national media, portrayed culinary work as sophisticated, scientific, enjoyable, well-paid and prestigious. Especially since the late 2000s, culinary school managers and teachers have appeared on many TV shows and newspapers (for example, see Aslan, 2014; Kahraman, 2003; Kanat, 2012; Çakmakçı and Özbey, 2003; Stüdyo Platin, 2014). The interviewers' or hosts' questions follow an almost identical pattern and solicit very similar responses, serving to market culinary education rather than informing public opinion. For example, see the transcription of a TV show below:

First scene – In the studio:

Mesut Kanat: (opening remarks) Those who haven't yet started pursuing their dream job, those who want to change careers, those who are undecided as to which school they should attend, *Bu İşte Para Var* [this is a well-paid job], continues to research the most interesting career prospects and the schools that can guarantee employment. A greater number of tourists visit Turkey every year and, in parallel, hundreds of hotels and restaurants are entering the sector. However, there is still a need for skilled and educated employees to work in the sector. This is where educational institutions enter the picture. Graduates from institutions where experienced chefs teach very easily find employment and earn good wages.

Second scene – Interviewing a male chef and teacher at USLA:

Mesut Kanat: Is it possible for someone who performs well in this job and has a good education to earn well?

Chef: Without a doubt. Without a doubt. Because there is a serious skills shortage in our sector. They are sure to find a handsomely paying job as long as they teach themselves, expand their horizon. Because our sector is already expecting them.

Third scene – Interviewing an Italian chef and teacher at USLA:

Mesut Kanat: Graduates of the cooking academy can find work around the world because they learn world cuisine from foreign teachers.

Chef: Turkey needs this type of academies. These schools will close a gap in the sector. But I should nevertheless remind you that this is a job one does with love.

Fourth scene – Interviewing a female chef and teacher at USLA:

Chef: You can find patisserie work anywhere if you do a good-quality job with passion and devotion.¹⁹ You will not encounter any problems in finding work and you will be a sought-after person.

Mesut Kanat: What character traits are needed to perform well as a chef, a patisserie chef?

Chef: ... You will be sought after if you are passionate, dedicated, patient, well-educated. You will be a good patisserie chef then. ... Passionate, patient, educated – most importantly, educated.

Mesut Kanat: How much would a good patisserie chef earn? I mean, is this job well-paid?

Chef: I mean, there is good money if you are educated, sought after. You can earn as much as or even more than a medical doctor, an engineer, a software programmer (Kanat, 2012).

The above excerpt is from a TV programme entitled *Bu İşte Para Var* [*This is a Well-Paid Job*] aired on a national TV channel. Although the emphasis on employability and remuneration may be somewhat attributable to the focus of the programme, what concerns me here are the messages communicated to the audience, which are reiterated not only in this programme but also elsewhere. In any such piece, it comes across that culinary school graduates ‘very easily find employment and earn good wages’ (Kanat, 2012) because the sector is booming, chefs will be needed even in times of economic crisis as ‘people will always eat’, current chefs are under-qualified or not passionate

¹⁹ I translate the Turkish idiom *kendini vermek* as ‘devotion’. It also means applying oneself or giving oneself over to (a monastic life, for example).

enough for their jobs, and so on. A second frequently-used selling point is that chefs are employable anywhere in the world. This may be juxtaposed with the advantages of studying in an internationally accredited institution, or an experienced chef's personal anecdote of working as part of an international team abroad or being exposed to world cuisine through foreign teachers, as in the case presented above. This resonates well, especially with secular young people who almost always dream of living in 'a Western country', and are increasingly interested in finding an escape route since the violent suppression of the peaceful Gezi Protests in 2013 (see Kiniklioglu, 2014; Lowen, 2017). The third point frequently emphasised is the high wages. Some do clarify that only those in managerial positions are paid well, but others do not. Although none of these claims are fully supported by evidence, this last one is furthest from the truth, yet is also the one most repeated. For example, a tabloid announced 'You can become a chef earning \$7000 per month!' (Aslan, 2014), although it is doubtful that even an executive chef in a top restaurant would be paid that much in Turkey.

The Turkish Statistical Institute has estimated the average monthly labour cost (i.e. gross pay, employer's social security contribution and other labour-related costs) across sectors at 1,833 TL in 2008, 2,680 TL in 2012 and 3,991 TL in 2016 (TurkStat, 2013a, 2017). However, the average monthly labour cost in the hotel and restaurant industry stood at 1,254 TL in 2008, 2,524 TL in 2012 and 3,535 TL in 2016 (TurkStat, 2008, 2012, 2016). We can infer from these figures that pay in the tourism and restaurant industries is below the average. During my own research, I met an educated chef who had been working for months without pay (supposedly 'extending' an unpaid internship), having attended a job interview in 2009 with a chef who had a professional cooking diploma from a top Italian school and internships in Michelin-starred restaurants, where she was offered 1,250 TL per month for an entry-level position in a top restaurant. In research interviews conducted in 2016, when the minimum wage was 1,300 TL, two of my interlocutors estimated that an entry-level position would pay between 1,500 TL and 2,000 TL, while a human resources manager from a top culinary school argued that it would pay between 2,000 TL and 3,500 TL. Based on the above evidence, one might suggest that wages in the sector are often misrepresented by culinary schools.

A problem particularly underlined by Sedat Usta is the undercutting of wages through unpaid internships and replacing experienced chefs with recent graduates

from culinary schools. In 2016, according to the above-mentioned HR manager, 50 per cent of chefs in the sector were educated. At the workshop I researched, only two out of fourteen culinary staff were self-trained cooks. According to Sedat Usta, replacing self-trained with educated chefs is partly an opportunistic move by restaurants to undercut wages and disband teams of self-trained chefs who have worked together for many years. Recruitment through kinship ties and personal networks allows self-trained cooks to form tightly-knit teams, who engage in collective bargaining even in the absence of a formal workers' union. Restaurant owners often complain about their collective action, for example in the form of walk-outs during high season, which may lead to bankruptcy. They are also seen as greedy because, these restaurateurs claim, they ask for wage increases when restaurants most depend on them. Such class conflict is mystified through the representation of self-trained chefs as ignorant, 'backward' and abusive by both employers and educated chefs. The latter, of course, are often bullied by self-trained chefs, especially in establishments where they are dominant, since they are held responsible for loss of job security, benefits and the privileges attached to gatekeeping. My interlocutors noted a contraction in the sector since 2015 due to socio-political turbulence in recent years. Coupled with the creation of a reserve army of educated chefs, this has resulted in increased friction between these groups.

Lastly, I should mention that culinary schools have changed gender dynamics in the restaurant sector. As mentioned in Section 3.1, the sector has been male-dominated for at least a century. All my interviewees who had been in the sector for more than a few years emphasised that a female chef was a rare sight in professional kitchens. For example, Sedat Usta estimated:

Ten per cent, maybe less than 10 per cent [of chefs were female in my previous workplaces]. But we are lucky to have so many graduates from [Private Culinary School Name]. Here, 80 per cent are women.

– How was it 20 years ago?

There were very few 20 years ago. Rarely seen. There may occasionally have been one or two.

As he suggested, culinary schools have provided female chefs with access to qualified positions. According to a recent study, 65 per cent of culinary students in Turkey are female (Akoğlu et al., 2017: 65). In patisserie programmes, this ratio is much higher

(I would estimate around 90 per cent). Culinary schools have also been instrumental in changing the common perception that professional culinary work is a man's job, which created a misogynistic environment in professional kitchens. Some of my interlocutors, especially those who had entered the sector in the early 2010s and before, said that they had witnessed or experienced sexual and verbal abuse at work. An educated female chef quit culinary work altogether after experiencing harassment in three different fine-dining restaurants, all of them well-known. Some interlocutors also reported homophobic abuse and male violence directed at male chefs. Reports of such experiences have become less frequent as the years have passed, indicating that gender dynamics have shifted during the course of this research. That is not to say that all gender-based abuse and discrimination have been eradicated. Even successful female chefs often argue that their female colleagues may struggle with physically demanding tasks such as lifting heavy kitchenware; yet many also acknowledge that female chefs often out-perform their male colleagues, thanks to their endurance, dedication, attention to detail and organisational skills. The increasing presence of women in professional kitchens, especially in higher ranks, has had a positive impact. Female chefs and owners such as Aylin Yazıcıoğlu, Didem Şenol and Şemsa Denizsel are noteworthy since they have become iconic figures in contemporary Turkish gastronomy, as their fine-dining restaurants have received immense critical acclaim both locally and internationally. They have changed the image of a modern chef, inspired women to pursue this career path, and trained the next generation of chefs, among whom are many women.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have looked at the historical, political, social and economic processes through which the Turkish restaurant sector took shape. I have focused particularly on the high-end restaurant sector in Istanbul, as this is both the context in which I conducted my research and the epicentre of the sector in Turkey.

Reviewing the food history literature has revealed some continuity in the types of establishments (*meyhane*, *esnaf lokantası*, narrowly-focused eateries), their geographical positions (the Bosphorous strip, Beyoğlu, Galata, etc.), the influence of Ottoman non-Muslims over culinary culture and sector formation, the recruitment of young males particularly from the north-western city of Bolu through kinship ties and social networks, and male domination in the sector strengthened by gatekeeping.

Historical rupture has also occurred, especially in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. The 19th century witnessed the emergence of a modern restaurant sector in Istanbul under the influence of Europe. Europeans settling in Istanbul in increased numbers created a clientele for modern restaurants, while the local elites joined them as they adopted Western cultural forms and consumption practices. The demand was usually met by the local non-Muslim tradesmen of Istanbul, who had centuries of experience in running eateries. However, the sector declined sharply as a result of socio-political turbulence and catastrophic events in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

After decades of deterioration, the high-end restaurant sector experienced a revival from the 1980s onwards. Public–private partnerships, government incentives, foreign investment, and support from international institutions such as the World Bank and ILO enabled this revival. These partnerships helped create conglomerates that invested simultaneously in several industries, including tourism, construction, education and the media. These partnerships were used to build infrastructure, create demand for eating out, market Turkey’s culinary riches abroad and establish vocational schools.

The creation, through neoliberal reforms, of a new middle class acting as both investors in and consumers of the culinary sector also played a vital role. The new middle class invested and worked in the restaurant sector as well as its ancillaries (e.g. the gastronomic media), and have more recently become involved in culinary work as chefs.

The proliferation of private culinary institutions from the 2000s onwards has been instrumental in attracting the new middle class to the booming restaurant industry as chefs. They portray culinary work as artistic, scientific, enjoyable, well-paid and full of opportunities. As a result, new entrants to the industry are mostly office workers longing for a fulfilling, creative, enjoyable job that they can pursue with passion.

Chapter 4: Methodology – Multi-Sited, Psychosocial, Organisational Ethnography

Ethnographers often share anecdotes of ‘how they “stumbled” on to their field sites entirely “by chance”’ (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 11). This, of course, mystifies the ‘anthropological lens’ (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 6) through which certain lifeways are rendered objects of study. In other words, the theoretical frameworks and disciplinary conventions that researchers follow inform which real-life phenomena attract their scholarly interest and how they are bracketed as objects of study. For better or worse, social scientists often get their inspiration for new research from their own life experiences and formulate research questions based on their experiential knowledge and theoretical convictions (Van der Vaal, 2009: 3).

It was indeed a combination of life events and exposure to certain strands of thought as an undergraduate student that incited my interest in the affective labour of chefs. The late 2000s and early 2010s witnessed the affective turn in the social sciences. A number of pioneering critical studies attuned me (and my peers) to embodied, affective and unconscious dimensions of human experience that shape organisational, social and political behaviour (for example, see Bicknell and Liefvooghe, 2010; Böhm & Batta, 2010; Carnera, 2012; Clough, 2007; Dowling, 2007; Fotaki, 2010; Kenny, 2010; Wissinger, 2007). This was also a period when my sister, my brother-in-law, my flatmate and four of my friends from university decided to become chefs and enrolled in culinary schools. All had been educated in top Turkish universities and came from middle- or upper-middle-class backgrounds, while their previous work experience varied from internships to five years of full-time employment (as a sales assistant, bank employee, factory manager, etc.). They shared a desire to pursue their ‘passion’ for cooking and to support themselves by doing so professionally.

Desire for a slow-paced, humble life in the countryside, especially in the coastal towns of south-west Turkey, has been widespread amongst the Turkish professional class for as long as I can remember. On a typical day, it would be unsurprising to hear someone in smart-casual attire say ‘I’ll quit this job, go south, open a small café or a bookshop’, while sipping their beer at a bar in Beyoğlu. In fact, one can find numerous establishments in popular holiday destinations (e.g. Bodrum, Kaş, Çeşme, Datça, Ayvalık) owned by former professionals from major cities, especially Istanbul. The

phenomenon has been so widespread since the 1990s that a former professional ‘going south’ and/or ‘opening a café’ developed into an often-ridiculed archetype in popular culture (for example see 140Journos, 2017; Bahar, 2011; Tez, 2011; Kapıcıoğlu, 2015; Parlak, 2016). The underpinning ideology has been a kind of romantic primitivism, a yearning for a financially sustainable, slow-paced, stress-free life in a pristine town of natural beauty, as part of a local community barely touched by ills of modernity such as overcrowding, noise and greed. A small café in the south, or in one of Istanbul’s not-yet-gentrified historic neighbourhoods if one is tied down for any reason, has been viewed not an end in itself, but as a door to a life supposed to have existed before office towers, supermarkets, shopping malls, bookstore chains and fast-food restaurants.

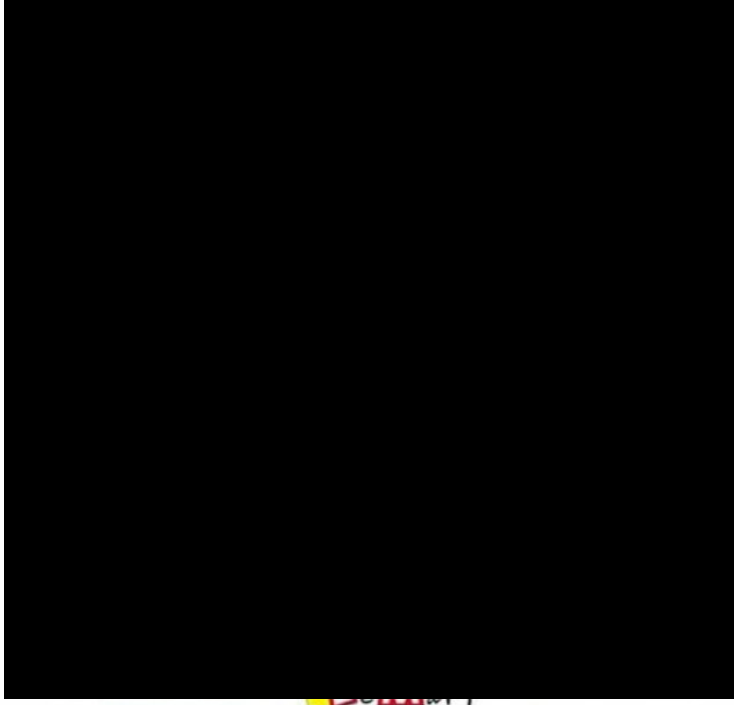


Figure 8: Caricature by Zehra Ömerlioğlu published in Leman

This shows a dissected brain being studied by a professor in a laboratory. There are three small regions in the left-hand side of the brain, which read ‘transfer to a different course’, ‘camping holiday’ and ‘Amsterdam’. However, the much bigger region on the right reads ‘open a café’. The dialogue goes: Professor: ‘We researched what is inside a group of youngsters’ minds. They all have a lobe on the side for “opening a café”.’ The man in green: ‘But, what does this mean, professor?’ Professor: ‘That they are useless.’

Some time in the 2000s, this dream shifted from escaping to a pristine place out in the countryside to finding solace in culinary practice. With increased competition in the culinary sector, professionalisation of culinary work and glorification of

culinary practice, working as a chef has become a more desirable and attainable option. Although opening a café may still be the ultimate goal for some, *işin mutfağına girmek* [entering the kitchen of the job], i.e. gaining experience in backstage culinary work in order to be proficient in all aspects of the business, is seen as the first step toward its realisation.

At a time when turning one's hobby into a source of income and making career choices based on one's source of pleasure is being propagated, thousands of office workers in Turkey have turned to culinary work. Personally, as a social science student, I was intrigued by the sudden change from not knowing a single cook in my life to being surrounded by many with aspirations of becoming a chef. In proposing this research, I wanted to understand: (i) how people's perceptions of work have changed from bureaucratic, oppressive, tiresome, routine and boring (i.e. as something that stifles passion) to an object that can be pursued with passion for fulfilment, self-realisation and enjoyment; (ii) why many have turned to culinary work in particular; and (iii) whether their desires persist despite poor working conditions such as overwork, low pay, mobbing and poor health-and-safety management. In seeking to answer these questions, I conducted a multi-sited psychosocial organisational ethnography of 'love for one's job' in the fine-dining sector of Istanbul, Turkey.

I decided to conduct ethnographic research for three reasons. Firstly, ethnography helps explore macro-level phenomena such as 'love for one's job' through their micro- and mezzo-level, everyday, concrete and complex manifestations without ironing out local/organisational/personal differences (Burawoy, 2000: 343; Lapegna, 2009: 6; O'Doherty and Neyland, 2019: 450, 453; Ybema et al., 2009: 6-7). Second, it affords in-depth understandings of cultures (O'Doherty and Neyland, 2019: 450-1), everyday practices (Nicolini, 2009) and subjectivity (Rubenstein, 2012: 45). Last but not least, ethnography goes beyond the surface phenomena and the common-sense to uncover the paradoxical, counterintuitive, irrational, unconscious and affective dimensions of phenomena (Lapegna, 2009: 10; O'Doherty and Neyland, 2019: 454; Ybema et al., 2009: 7; Wetherell, 2012: 139). Ethnographic research methods of participant observation, interview, and desk research capture diverse (discursive, embodied and material) empirical manifestations of psychosocial phenomena.

Multi-sited organisational ethnography, on the other hand, studies networks of organisations interlinked through the circulation of people, objects, discourses, etc.

(Ekman, 2014: 145), which helped me explore how ‘love for one’s job’ is produced and reproduced across organisations. In multi-sited research, the researcher may establish connections between organisations either through fieldwork, by physically following people or objects as they circulate, or through argumentation in written work (Marcus, 1995: 105). The latter strategy is especially useful in studies of immaterial objects such as metaphors, discourses and symbols (Lapegna, 2009: 9) and has informed this research focusing on love and affective labour. In this type of research, the boundaries of the traditional field in organisational ethnography (i.e. a single organisation typically based in one building) are transgressed and the scope may range from the local to the global (Van der Waal, 2009: 27). Accordingly, this research moves between restaurants and culinary schools in Istanbul, Turkish newspapers, Hollywood movies, etc. pursuing discursive and material empirical manifestations of love.

Both multi-sited ethnography and psychoanalysis are well-suited to studying the complex phenomena the thesis focuses on, namely love and affective labour. These phenomena cannot be conceived in terms of individual/social, discursive/affective, local/global binaries. Love is a psychic attachment to an object (e.g. a person, an organisation, an ethos) formed through psychosocial processes that is talked/written about, performed, represented in art and artefacts. Affective labour is an embodied form of production that requires tapping into psychosocial, inter-subjective relationships such as love primarily through discourse and performance. As such, both love and affective labour ontologically blur the boundaries between conscious/unconscious, individual/social and discursive/affective. In fact, according to the Lacanian ontology adopted in this thesis, these are entangled and implicated in each other rather than being separate (also see Sections 2.3 and 4.3).

As is explained in depth in Sections 2.3 and 4.3, Lacan offers a non-binary ontology which argues that the subject is born into a discursively-constructed social totality that pre-exists and survives him/her and is constituted by it. The subject is inhabited by the Other²⁰ as a result of being constituted in the socio-symbolic hence has a split self, while the socio-symbolic is changed by each subject being formed through representation in language for others. Last but not least, language predates

²⁰ The Other is the psychic agent standing in for the society, instilled in the psyche during subject formation.

and animates the body hence there is no embodied/affective experience prior to being introduced to discourse. These theoretical premises have shaped the epistemological approach adopted in this thesis.

The research methods and the interpretative technique adopted in this thesis are aligned with this non-binary ontology (see Section 4.3). Ethnographic research methods of participant observation, interview, and desk research are well suited to studying the diverse empirical manifestations of love and affective labour in discourse, the material environment, performance, embodiment and practice. Their ontological status requires not only attentiveness to these diverse manifestations but also an analytical approach that uncovers their entanglement, co-constitution and implication in each other. Therefore, I have adopted a Lacanian interpretative technique designed to approach affect through the socio-symbolic which will be further explained later in the chapter.

In this chapter, multi-sited ethnography and psychoanalysis are discussed separately, and the novel methodology developed by drawing on both is explained. Section 4.1 discusses the development of multi-sited ethnography in order to research phenomena that transgress the geographical, physical and disciplinary boundaries of traditional ethnographic research. It emphasises the peculiarities of multi-sited ethnography (e.g. being processual) and how they have shaped this research. Section 4.2 provides a detailed account of the research process and explains how I deliberately moved between theory and ethnographic material, experimented with different methods, entertained several theoretical approaches, tested various interpretative techniques throughout the research process as is recommended for multi-sited ethnography (Lapegna, 2009:13; Nicolini, 2009:133-4). This has helped me not only to find the methods best suited to capturing different empirical manifestations of love and affective labour, but also to develop a new interpretative technique informed by Lacanian psychoanalysis in the absence of an established roadmap and toolkit for psychosocial research (see Neill, 2013: 334; Parker, 2005: 165-7). Section 4.3 discusses previous methodological approaches in psychosocial research, how this research differs from them and why. The new interpretative technique and its foundations in Lacanian theory and clinical practice are explained in detail. Building on previous sections, Section 4.4 lays out the analytical process focusing in particular on how I moved from the ethnographic material and ‘sensitizing concepts’ (Tracy,

2013: 28) to the categories and themes presented in the thesis. Finally, Section 4.5 provides a critical overview of the methodology.

4.1 Multi-sited organisational ethnography

As a methodology, ethnography was developed by anthropologists with the aim of studying foreign cultures in depth. This necessitated spending long periods of time in a particular locale, embedding themselves in social relations, and learning about the local community's lifeways (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 1). In classical anthropology, this locale would almost always be a village in the colonies. When neighbouring disciplines adopted ethnography, they limited their field to pre-given social, political or geographical entities, not least for the purpose of policing disciplinary boundaries (see Burawoy, 2000; Clifford, 1997; Gupta and Ferguson, 1997). Following convention, organisational ethnography developed as the study of 'a specific site, within the boundaries of the organization selected as the unit of observation' (Van der Waal, 2009: 5; see also Ybema et al., 2009: 4).

Treating 'the field' as pre-given in ethnographic research attracted criticism in the 1990s, as networked phenomena proliferated as a result of increasing globalisation (Lapegna, 2009). Phenomena such as migration, global supply chains and globally circulating socio-cultural artefacts that cut across geographical and temporal spaces required ethnographers to develop a methodology that 'pays attention to the interlocking of multiple social-political sites and locations' (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 37). Rather than dwelling within a spatially demarcated entity, they began to 'self-consciously combine dwelling with travelling' (Burawoy, 2000: 4-5). Known as multi-sited ethnography, this novel approach involves crossing organisational, social, geographical or political boundaries (Marcus, 1995: 96). Its distinctive feature is studying interlinked phenomena in a processual manner, either by observing them as they unfold (Marcus, 1995: 96), or by establishing interconnections between events, sites and actors through fieldwork (Nicolini, 2009: 121).

Multi-sited organisational ethnography transgresses the boundaries of the traditional field in organisational ethnography (i.e. a single organisation typically based in one building) and its scope may range from the local to the global (Van der Waal, 2009: 27). It studies a network of organisations interlinked through the circulation of people, objects, discourses, etc. (Ekman, 2014: 145). The researcher may establish connections between organisations either through fieldwork, by

physically following people or objects as they circulate, or through argumentation (Marcus, 1995: 105). The latter strategy is especially useful in studies of immaterial objects such as metaphors, discourses and symbols (Lapegna, 2009: 9) and has informed this research.

The challenge in multi-sited ethnography is not to find new leads to follow, but to delimit the field based on one's theoretical framework and research findings (Lapegna, 2009: 8; Van der Waal, 2009: 5). The ontological status of the research object and the researcher's epistemological approach significantly shape the fieldwork in terms of its extent and methods. With regard to methods, participant observation differentiates ethnography from other research methodologies and constitutes its central tenet (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 1). This method of 'data collection' (as most organisational scholars like to call it) involves spending extended periods of time with research subjects, becoming part of their everyday lives and joining in their daily practices. In multi-sited ethnography, researchers may benefit from extensive desk study, archival research and interviews in order to give depth to findings from participant observation, or to uncover dimensions of the research object inaccessible through participant observation. These methods are particularly useful when studying virtual phenomena, such as the organisation of illegal activities and/or groups in the deep web, and psychosocial phenomena such as love, which do not have strictly physical manifestations or a single spatial locus (see Frömming et al., 2017; Hannerz, 2003).

It is desirable in multi-sited ethnography to carry out preliminary research, during which different methods (participant observation, interviews, etc.) are applied and various theoretical approaches explored. In choosing a research site, one is led by one's theoretical understanding of the issues to be studied. It makes sense to develop several possible lines of approach to the main research questions, and then decide on a specific approach in light of its viability (Van der Waal, 2009: 5). The findings and learning from this exercise inform the next stage.

In traditional anthropology, fieldwork would be carried out in one block of time (usually a year), followed by a period of analysis and writing up (analysis is usually considered to be an integral part of writing and does not entail a specific procedure). However, in multi-sited ethnography, the 'spatial separation between field and home' (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 12) and the temporal linearity between fieldwork and writing-up dissolve. Rather, fieldwork is undertaken in stages, between which data are

analysed, field reports (and potentially other written outputs) are produced, theory revisited, and the next stage designed. In other words, one iterates between fieldwork, data analysis and theory throughout the research process, and the former takes shape in stages.

4.2 Fieldwork

This research was conducted in four stages and developed processually (see Table 6). Between stages, the ethnographic material was thematically analysed and coded at ‘sensitizing concepts’ (Bowen, 2006) using NVivo software (see Section 4.4). Organisations, people, movies, books, etc. that were most prevalent in the data, were reportedly the most influential in the sector, had the greatest effect or left the deepest impression on my interlocutors were identified through thematic analysis. Effort was made to then involve them in the next stage, subject to access. I also wrote field reports and planned the next stage by iterating between the ethnographic material and the theory. The field reports were included in annual reports presented to panels of senior academics as part of my PhD on a yearly basis. I also wrote assignments, manuscripts and conference papers between the various stages. Presenting these outputs to and receiving feedback from different audiences helped processual development of the methodology.

Preliminary research was conducted in 2012 and 2013. At this stage, I interviewed 16 educated chefs from various fine-dining restaurants in Istanbul (see Table 6). The interviews were modelled on the life-story interview technique (Atkinson, 1995, 2002; McAdams, 2001; Hoyer and Steyaert, 2015). The questions were open-ended and focused on how they had become chefs, while my intervention was minimal. In these interviews, interlocutors identified actors, objects, events and sites that had been influential (Atkinson, 1995). In addition, I conducted seven days of participant observation (at restaurants and culinary events), collected archival material (newspapers, food blogs, culinary school advertisements, etc.), and watched popular culinary TV shows and movies. All of these data allowed me to identify the key organisations and actors, begin to establish connections between them and sketch out the culinary landscape.

As previously discussed, organisations in the culinary sector and related industries are connected in many ways (see Section 3.3). Eateries, entertainment establishments, culinary media and culinary schools benefit from the same

government policies, are backed by the same international organisations and local authorities, have common investors, and attract more or less the same clientele. A closer look revealed that they often employ the same people, either simultaneously or consecutively. A fine-dining chef and owner may write cookbooks, teach in culinary schools, appear on TV shows and run a café chain, all at the same time (see Lane, 2014: 88-100). Also, contemporary cooks constantly move from one organisation to another, carrying their knowledge, discourses and practices, as became apparent at an early stage of this research. These create multidimensional connections between culinary organisations, which guided my fieldwork. I tried to establish or demonstrate these connections through ‘argumentation’ (Marcus, 1995: 105) while writing this thesis.

Analysis of data from my preliminary research showed that the interviews were constructed around narratives of love for culinary practice, while ‘love for one’s job’ appeared as a cross-sectoral and cross-cultural phenomenon. It was invoked as a determining factor in individuals’ decisions to become a chef, and was their main motivation for continuing to do so, despite mental and physical suffering at work due to overwork, bullying, harassment, etc. Having reviewed some of the literature, I saw that pursuing one’s passion, loving one’s job, enjoying one’s work and making career choices based on such affective criteria have become global phenomena in the post-Fordist era (see Driver, 2017; Gill, 2010; Gregg, 2009; Guerrier and Adib, 2003; Terranova, 2000). This seemed central to the workings not only of the restaurant sector in Turkey, but also of contemporary capitalism on a cross-sectoral and international scale. Therefore, I decided that ‘love for one’s job’ would yield a more meaningful contribution to the literature than several other prospective threads. Consideration of the potential contribution to the literature when designing the fieldwork has prominent antecedents in multi-sited ethnography (for example, see Marcus, 1998: 25, cited in Lapegna, 2009: 8).

‘Love for one’s job’ is a popular discourse circulating widely in everyday discourse and the media. It has material consequences, such as artefacts (e.g. show kitchens, culinary school design, culinary movies), performances (e.g. cooks’ affective labour in show kitchens) and affect (e.g. embodied reactions to affective labour). Pursuing these discursive and material manifestations of love for culinary work led me to places of occupational training, work, socialisation within the sector and communication channels. These included culinary schools, high-end restaurants

and cafés (especially with open/show kitchens), culinary events and meet-ups, and traditional and social media. A breakdown of the fieldwork is given in Table 6.

A particular challenge of this research was the difficulty of researching affect and the unconscious. Affects are the unconscious bonds between people and organisational and social roles, ideologies, social groups, and so on. As such, they shape our organisational, social, economic and political behaviour, but are difficult to pin down. They make their presence felt in embodied ways, but are usually ephemeral. We can neither observe affect as being physically separate from the body, nor fully put its nature into words. Words fail to fully represent or control an affective experience (see Ashcraft, 2017: 46; Beyes and De Cock, 2017: 62; Ducey, 2007: 193; Fotaki et al., 2017: 4; Keevers and Sykes, 2016: 6). Similarly, the unconscious resists conscious knowledge and control. Thus, the methods best suited to studying affect and the unconscious are subject to ongoing debate in psychosocial studies. Material culture and concrete practices are thought to provide insights, but discursive data are often prioritised as a gateway. Therefore, I employed a range of methods and constructed the analysis around interpretation of discursive data.

The data collected for this research consist of: participant observation for 30 days; 32 semi-structured recorded interviews with 24 participants, varying in length from 15 minutes to two and a half hours; 16 informal interviews with 16 participants; and archival data, such as interviews with sector leaders (e.g. Slow Fish, 2018; Stüdyo Platin, 2014), restaurant documentaries (e.g. *Chef's Table*), food blogs (e.g. Parlak, 2016; Powell, 2002; Ünsal, 2003) and recruitment websites (e.g. kariyer.net). The next section focuses on how these have been interpreted.

Table 5: Fieldwork by site

Site	Date	Method	Total Number of Interviewees
Multiple (Preliminary Research)	June 2012-September 2013	7 days of participant observation, 16 semi-structured interviews with fine-dining chefs	8
High-end Restaurant Chain	April 2016	12 days of participant observation, 6 semi-structured and 6 informal interviews	27
Culinary School-1	February and April 2016	11 days of participant observation, 5 semi-structured and 9 informal interviews	20
Culinary School-2	February 2016	1 semi-structured interview with owner and instructor	1
Culinary School-3	February 2016		1

		1 semi-structured interview with HR manager	
High-End Restaurant (HER), High-End Café (HEC), Café	February 2016	Semi-structured interviews with HER owner and consultant, HEC co-founder and partner, HEC executive chef and HER-2 patisserie chef (4 in total)	4
Online Communication	November-December 2017	4 semi-structured interviews through email correspondence with 1 former restaurant critic	4

Table 6: Fieldwork by stage

Stage	Site	Date	Method
Preliminary Research	Multiple restaurants and culinary events	June 2012-September 2013	7 days of participant observation, 16 semi-structured interviews
1st Fieldwork	Culinary school-1 Culinary school-2 Culinary school-3 High-end restaurant High-end café Café	February 2016	10 days of participant observation, 11 semi-structured and 9 informal interviews
2nd Fieldwork	High-end restaurant chain Culinary school-1	April 2016	13 days of participant observation, 6 semi-structured and 6 informal interviews
Desk Research	Media and online communication	June 2012 - September 2018	Archival, video, digital data collection, 4 semi-structured interviews through email correspondence with 1 former restaurant critic

4.3 Psychosocial research and psychoanalytical interpretation

Psychosocial studies are an interdisciplinary field imbued with various strands of social theory and research (see Section 2.3). This theoretical diversity can also be observed in the psychosocial strand of organisation studies, which explores unconscious and affective dimensions of organisations and organising (for an overview, see Fotaki et al., 2012, 2017; Kenny and Fotaki, 2014).

While interest in psychosocial theory has grown in recent years, psychosocial qualitative or ethnographic research is still relatively rare (Frosh et al., 2003; Proudfoot, 2015; Hoyer and Steyaert, 2015; Kenny, 2012), and theoretical debate on how psychoanalysis can be adopted in social research is ongoing (for example, see Frosh, 2012; Kenny and Gilmore, 2014; Redman, 2016). Nevertheless, certain tendencies can be identified in these studies. First, fieldwork is usually modelled on clinical practice, for example by conducting ‘clinical-style’ interviews (see Frosh et

al., 2003: 43) or adopting psychoanalytical supervision and case consultation (see Proudfoot, 2015). Some contributions are more attentive to the implications of adapting psychoanalytical practices to research purposes, while being inspired by the dynamics of the analyst–analysand relationship (see Kenny and Gilmore, 2014). Methodological discussions revolve mainly around the contribution of psychoanalysis, and particularly the concept of ‘transference’, to self-reflexivity in organisational and social research (see Kenny and Gilmore, 2014; Proudfoot, 2015; Frosh, 2012). Lastly, discourse analysis has often been adopted, particularly to analyse phenomena through concepts such as fantasy and identification, both of which form part of the imaginary register in Lacanian terms, a point on which I expand later (see Kenny, 2012; Müller, 2013; Hoedemaekers, 2010).

While this research was also driven by interviews and inspired by psychoanalytical discourse analysis, I did not adopt (or adapt) clinical practices for the fieldwork because that would have implied taking an interpretive stance toward participants’ psychic lives and entertaining a fantasy of psychoanalysing, which can only be practised by trained psychoanalysts in the very peculiar context of the clinic (see Kenny and Gilmore, 2014: 166; Hook, 2008a). Instead, my interviews approximated to the life-story interview technique, which has been described as ‘psychosocial constructions, coauthored by the person himself or herself and the cultural context within which that person’s life is embedded and given meaning’ (McAdams, 2001: 101; see also Hoyer and Steyaert, 2015). I looked for social patterns in affective ties to work in these discursive data, an endeavour aided by archival data and participant observation.

In analysing the data, I was not interested in the whole process through which individual interlocutors were constituted as subjects, nor in personal aspects of their subjectivity. As stated above, I approach the ethos of love and affective labour from organisational and psychosocial perspectives. This entails studying affect and the unconscious in relation to working conditions, the performance of labour, surplus value creation, employment relations, etc. As psychoanalysis has theorised the psychosocial dynamics of love and affect for decades, it provided a robust theoretical framework for studying this subject matter. Before explaining my interpretative technique, I must make a theoretical detour to introduce its psychoanalytical underpinnings.

My methodology is built especially on Lacanian psychoanalysis because this is based on a psychosocial ontology and theory of the subject which is conducive to social research. The Lacanian subject is always-already psychosocial: ‘the subject exists in the space of the other, inhabited by the other’ (Frosh, 2012: 64; see also Fink, 2014a: 8). Here, Frosh appears to borrow Lacan’s concept of the Other with a capital ‘O’ (Fink, 2014a: 10).

The Other is a product of an infant’s introduction to language, which conveys the social norms and expectations embedded in this structure (Müller, 2013). Language acquisition is concomitant with adopting social prohibitions and imperatives, leading to the creation of the unconscious as the locus of wishes that cannot be consciously acted on or even known. While adopting social norms and demands allows us to become subjects, it also obliges us to pay the price for membership of society. Thereupon, an overpowering agent is constituted in our psyche, whom we feel knows our desires better than we do, has access to the depths of our psyche that we cannot reach, and keeps secrets from us that we are desperate to uncover:

When my parents oblige me to set limits to my behaviour toward my brothers and sisters, for example, some of my hatred toward them becomes repressed – suddenly I become extra nice to them, perhaps even excessively doting. With the repression of some of my love for the parent of the opposite sex, I may display mostly hatred toward that parent now, or some love and some hatred. My former hatred of the interfering parent may now turn to love or to a mixture of love and hate. Through the introduction of ambivalence, owing to the existence of conscious wishes alongside unconscious wishes, I do not always know what I want, I do not always know why I do what I do – at some level, I sense that some knowledge of myself is inaccessible to me. At the same time, however, I tend to assume that the knowledge that is inaccessible to me is accessible to someone or something else. ‘God only knows’ goes the expression, suggesting that this knowledge is situated in something beyond myself, in something that transcends me (Fink, 2014a: 31).

This transcendent psychic agent is called the Other in Lacanian discourse. As language pre-dates and lasts longer than individual human life, social norms embedded in it are centuries old, individuals have little power to subvert them, and everyone’s unconscious life is shaped by it. We exist in the space of the Other, inhabited by the Other. We experience our desires as dictated by the Other, our socially unacceptable thoughts and urges as coming from the Other, our behaviour at odds with our self-

image as a response to the Other, and so on. In other words, while the conscious self (ego) wishes 'to see itself as master in its own home' (Fink, 2014a: 141), the unconscious defies it by creating a separate psychic agent from the social material to which it has been exposed. This phenomenon is called splitting of the subject (Fotaki, 2010: 706-7; Fink, 2002).

To Lacanian subjects split between the conscious and the unconscious (or the Imaginary and the Symbolic), their own desires appear as the desire of the Other. Even more unsettling for them is the fact that the Other's desire is in no way self-evident. Incessant change and inherent contradictions in hegemonic discourses (rival ideologies, scientific debates, competing narratives in the media, etc.), as well as incompatible social demands exerted by the various subject positions they occupy simultaneously (professional identity, political beliefs, religious affiliation, gender identity, etc.), make it very difficult to determine what the Other wants from them (see Fink, 2014a: 8). It is the yearning for a fulfilled, peaceful existence that sets in motion the search for a social place to be enjoyed without the Other's injunctions and commandments (Fotaki, 2010: 706-7). In their unconscious pursuit of a neverland where all is harmonious and everyone is satisfied, subjects encounter various images of a desirable social role. Identifying with these images gives them a sense of being a unitary (not-split) subject, at least temporarily (Fotaki, 2010: 707). This phenomenon is called 'imaginary identification' (see also Section 2.3).

The Lacanian term 'imaginary' is derived from 'image' and differs from fictional, illusory or dream-like (Fink, 2004: 9). It refers to what we would call 'reality' in everyday language. Lacan suggests that subjects see reality from a personal perspective when they look at it through the imaginary register. That is not to say that their view is simply partial or skewed. It means that they can see their own projection onto the outside world and know their own ego. This does not give them access to the radical, irreconcilable, irreducible differences of the other subjects with whom they engage:

Working in the imaginary register ... involves trying to understand other people as if they were just like myself, as if they thought the same way, or felt the same way about things, as I do. The imaginary involves looking at others and seeing myself, believing that others have the same motives, hang-ups, and anxieties I have. To the degree to which I consider their feelings at all, or consider them to have feelings, I think of them as just like mine (Fink, 2014a: 9).

In order to avoid the trap of seeing oneself in others, the analyst must move beyond his/her own ego. Lacan proposes that this can only be achieved by interpreting the analysand's symbolic rather than imaginary identification with the Other, i.e. the analyst's ego (see Figure 9). While the imaginary relationship between the analyst and the analysand is ephemeral, contextually determined and personal in nature, the symbolic relationship reflects social structures and the subjectivities they enable (see also Section 2.3).

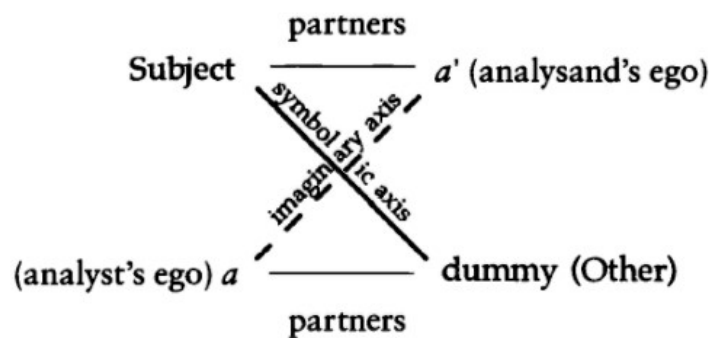


Figure 1.1, Simplified L schema I

Figure 9: The four parties involved in analysis

Source: Fink (2004: 5)

The diagram presented in Figure 9 shows the two axes along which, Lacan believes, the analyst can engage with the analysand: the imaginary and the symbolic. Engaging through the symbolic register means embodying the Other, by not reducing the analytical relationship to a 'body-to-body, ego-to-ego, person-to-person relationship' (Fink, 2004: 14), by refusing to respond to the analysand's question 'what does the Other want from me?' and, most importantly, by listening to the unconscious that leaks into conscious speech (Fink, 2004, 2014a, 2014b).

The subject is precisely the one we encourage, not to say it all (*tout dire*), as we tell him in order to charm him – one cannot say it all – but rather to utter stupidities. That is the key. For it is with those stupidities that we do analysis, and that we enter into the new subject – that of the unconscious. It is precisely to the extent that the guy is willing not to think anymore that we will perhaps learn a little bit more about it, that we will draw certain consequences from his words (*dits*) – words that cannot be taken back (*se dédire*), for that is the rule of the game (Lacan, 1999: 22).

As this excerpt shows, the unconscious resists the ego not only when it is asked to say it all (the whole truth), but also when it is commanded to keep silent. Despite the conscious efforts and watchful eye of the ego, who wants to have absolute control over

what is said and done, the unconscious ‘utters stupidities’. That is to say, it reveals itself in discursive constructions that do not seem, at first sight, to be meaningful.

As Freud (1920) famously discovered, the unconscious reveals itself in dreams, slips of the tongue, puns, witticisms, and so on. According to him, dreams are condensed expressions of suppressed wishes and thoughts, like riddles or rebuses (Freud, 1920: 14-32). One can reveal latent thoughts by breaking the dream down into its visual and linguistic elements and associating freely with each one. He suggests that dreams use ‘very witty, but often exaggerated, digressions’ (Freud, 1920: 16), especially when two thoughts expressed in the same dream are logically disconnected and necessitate some kind of join (Freud, 1920: 16). For example, he conveys a dream in which he is seated next to a friend’s daughter ‘at table or table d’hôte’ (Freud, 1920: 4). The friend is someone to whom he owes money. The daughter turns to him and says ‘but you have always had such beautiful eyes’ (Freud, 1920: 4), which Freud interprets as his wish for (his wife’s) unconditional love (Freud, 1920: 5). He associates to ‘table d’hôte’ for some pages, and then concludes that his wish for things without having to return the favour or becoming indebted is expressed in the dream with a double entendre juxtaposed with images like the table:

In following out the analysis I struck upon the thought: I should like to have something for nothing. But this formula is not serviceable to the dream. Hence it is replaced by another one: ‘I should like to enjoy something free of cost.’ The word ‘kost’ (taste), with its double meaning, is appropriate to a table d’hôte; it, moreover, is in place through the special sense in the dream. At home if there is a dish which the children decline, their mother first tries gentle persuasion, with a ‘Just taste it.’ That the dream work should unhesitatingly use the double meaning of the word is certainly remarkable... (Freud, 1920: 17).

In this example, the double meaning of the German word ‘kost’ (cost and taste) helps him analyse various elements of the dream.

Freud’s idea is taken up by Lacan, who believes that ‘the unconscious seems to delight far more in nonsense than in sense, to rejoice in enigmas, rebuses, and condensations rather than in comprehensible propositions’ (Fink, 2014a: 141). Lacan’s discourse is full of neologisms, such as ‘l’amur’ derived from ‘amour’ (love) and ‘mur’ (wall), homonyms such as *encore* (still, more), *en-corps* (in-body) and *un corps* (a body), double entendres such as *arriver* (arrive, slang term meaning ‘to come’ in sex), and so on (1999: 4-18). Lacan has been criticised for obscurity, partly owing

to his use of such idiomatic expressions, which understandably cause frustration in some readers (presumably non-native speakers of French in particular). The point is, however, to train analysts in working with the unconscious. This necessitates attentiveness to all the different ways in which the unconscious may be expressed in speech, to disentangle the phrases enunciated by the analysand, and to direct the analysand's attention toward phrases that may hint at unconscious thoughts.

I adopt this Lacanian insight and construct my analysis around interpretation of culinary 'idiomatic expressions' (Fink, 2004: 10) that appear in the data (especially interviews and fieldnotes). 'Idiomatic expressions' are particularly conducive to psychosocial research because the unconscious thoughts they reveal are collectively shared. These expressions can 'be heard and understood by anyone' (Fink, 2004: 10) speaking the language, irrespective of the relational dynamics in the particular contexts in which they are invoked. They are meaningful not only to subjects involved in this research, but to wider social groups. For example, *meslek bulaştı* [you have caught the trade, you have been contaminated with the trade] would be understood by those who have worked in the Turkish culinary sector but not by all Turkish speakers, whereas *elinin tadı* [taste of your hand] would likely be understood by all Turkish speakers. They tell us more about the Other (social norms and beliefs embedded in language) than the other (the analyst, the analysand, the researcher, the interlocutor, etc.); but they also reveal the symbolic identifications of the interlocutors – the positions they have taken in relation to the hegemonic discourse (see Böhm and Batta, 2010; Kenny, 2010; Müller, 2013), because they are taken up and enunciated by those particular subjects.

In interpreting the idiomatic expressions, I draw on their polyvalence and discern their latent, unconscious content from their literal meanings. For example, in Section 5.3, I interpret the idiom *aşka gelmek*, which was invoked by an interlocutor. The idiom means 'to be enraptured'. Its first word *aşka* consists of the root *aşk* [love, passion] and the directional suffix '-a' [-wards], hence meaning 'to(wards) love'. The second word, *gelmek* means 'to come'. Therefore, the latent meaning of the idiom hidden in plain sight is 'to come to love'. The analysis of the interlocutor's symbolic identification follows from this interpretation.

Another crucial Lacanian insight underpinning the analysis is that body–mind, affect–discourse and individual–social are not separate, co-constitutive entities. They are intertwined in a way that may best be represented by a Möbius strip (Fink, 2004).

This is a circular strip with a twist, two sides of which form a continuous, non-binary surface (see Figure 10). This metaphor suggests that the above-mentioned binaries are misleading representations of social ontology.

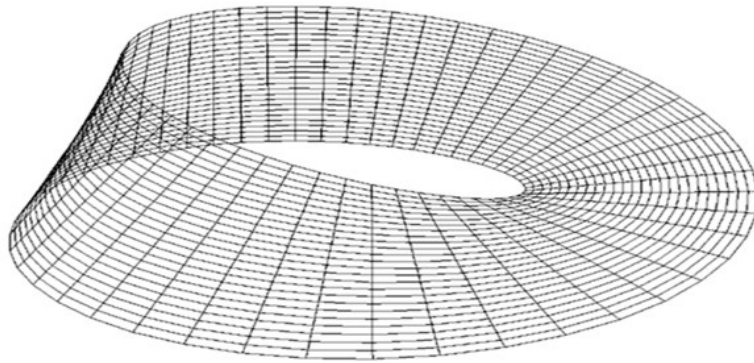


Figure 10: A Möbius strip

In Lacan's words, 'there is no pure affective on the one hand, entirely engaged in the real, and the pure intellectual on the other, which detaches itself from it in order to grasp it once again' (1988: 293). In other words, there is no such thing as a pure consciousness that can distance itself from the embodied and affective experience in order to see it all from a bird's eye view and establish the ego's mastery over the unconscious. It also means that there is no pure, pre-discursive affect. Subjects are inhabited by the Other, which shapes their desires, animates their bodies and sexualises their body parts. It turns the eye into gaze, hands into touch, tongue into voice, which are the objects of drives (see Copjec, 1997). Finally, language is the only medium that allows us to think, speak and write about affect, however inadequately. For all these reasons, Lacan argues, we need to stop mystifying affect as if it were 'a kind of ineffable quality which must be sought out in itself' (1988: 57).

The practical implication of this non-binary ontology for my methodology is that, in the fieldwork, I was unable to observe the affect itself, which bound a chef to her role or was produced in a restaurant. I also cannot fully grasp and perfectly represent it in this thesis. Nevertheless, I was able to approach it through discourse in my interviews, in conversations during the participant observation, in the archival material and in my writing. Therefore, in researching the ethos of love and affective labour, I prioritised discursive data, drawing on 'idiomatic expressions' (Fink, 2004: 10) and focusing on symbolic identification. I tried to tease out unconscious thoughts

and affective attachments hidden in plain sight in their polyvalence. As socio-cultural tokens, they helped me to explore the psychosocial dimension of culinary work and provided a window into the affective domain because, ‘like the idiomatic expressions and plays on words that are often imminent in dream images, the symbol is imminent in affect’ (Fink, 2004: 52).

4.4 Analysis

Ethnographic research is ‘viewed as a recurrent process of “zooming in” on local practices, and “zooming out” through contextualization and theorizing’ (Ybema and Kamsteeg, 2009: 103). This iteration between ethnographic material and theory ‘stops when we can provide a convincing and defensible account’ (Nicolini, 2009: 121), i.e. when one has a written ethnographic narrative. Furthermore, ethnographic research is divided into ‘fieldwork’ and ‘writing-up’ with analysis being an integral part of the whole research process, rather than a separate procedure with a blueprint to follow, tools to use and rules to observe (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 12-3; Van der Waal, 2009: 36). Nevertheless, there is a certain positivist tendency in organisation studies that leads ethnographers to try and establish analysis as a separate stage in research as exemplified below.

While fieldwork generates the basis for the descriptive aspects of a study of organizational life and deskwork works through the analytic relationships between descriptive material and theoretical concerns, ethnographic textwork aims to convey the researcher’s field experiences and theoretically-informed analysis to a reader. (Ybema et al., 2009: 10)

Even in this temporally linear approach, analysis is spread out into deskwork as forming ‘analytic relationships between descriptive material and theoretical concerns’ and textwork as doing as ‘theoretically-informed analysis’. In other words, analysis in ethnography is a process of repetitive and continued thinking of ethnographic material through theory beginning at research question formulation and ending only when the ethnographic account is written up.

Owing to the complex and tacit forms it takes and the wide array of expertise one has to draw on (cognitive science, psychology, philosophy, etc.) in order to unpack ‘thinking’, this section cannot give a thorough account of textwork. I hope that the discussion on psychosocial interpretation (see section 4.3), the reflexive account of how the research question has been arrived at (see Chapter 1 and Section 4.0) and the

detailed discussion of the theoretical approach (Chapter 2) elsewhere will complement the description of the analysis involved in this stage.

I began deskwork by conducting a literature review and using NVivo to create ‘sensitizing concepts’ (Bowen, 2006). Sensitizing concepts are ‘a starting point for a qualitative study’ (Bowen, 2006: 2) which attune the researcher to certain aspects of the phenomenon they study. They ‘offer ways of seeing, organizing, and understanding experience’ (Charmaz, 2003: 259 in Bowen, 2006: 3). Thereby, they highlight certain parts of the empirical material, which also creates the risk of leaving others in the shade. Researchers may drop some of these concepts or conceptualise them differently as the analysis progresses and their thinking is changed by the findings. They may also adopt different concepts or even coin new terms. In other words, researchers may move away from the sensitizing concepts as the theoretical framework is gradually developed and refined.

The sensitizing concepts informing this analysis were selected from the reviewed literature with a view to potentially explaining love and affective labour. I created nodes²¹ for these concepts on NVivo and coded their various definitions and uses. These include love, passion, affect, feeling, emotion, *jouissance*, enjoyment, affective investment, affective attachment, passionate attachment, desire, affective labour, emotional labour and more. As is apparent, these concepts are rather close in their definitions and the phenomena they often signify although they are drawn from different theories (mainly post-Fordist theory, the affective labour debate and psychosocial theory). I preferred to include them all in my sensitizing concepts until the textwork, which is when the conceptual framework has taken its final shape. In addition, I created codes for supporting concepts that would help explain love and affective labour and the ancillary phenomena unfolding around them. These included body, embodiment, materiality, modulation, unconscious, recognition, identification, performativity, interpellation, ideology, affective remuneration, ambivalence, enchantment, immaterial labour, neoliberalism, precarity, power, bioproduction, valorisation, etc.

Previous research typically uses up to five sensitizing concepts (e.g. Bowen, 2006: 3; Nicolini, 2009: 122). Nevertheless, close to a hundred sensitizing concepts

²¹ Node is a feature in NVivo that one can use to create a theme or add a concept at which data can be coded.

were used in this research primarily not to narrow my thinking a priori. Thereby, a ‘glossary’ of concepts with competing definitions and alternative uses was produced. This glossary grew, not shrank during the processually-conducted research as I developed the literature review and iterated between data, theory and fieldwork.

The second step in deskwork was thematic analysis of ethnographic material on NVivo. I uploaded all my written data (interview transcripts, media clippings, fieldnotes, movie dialogues, etc.) and inductively created themes. I was again generous in creating themes from what seemed significant in ethnographic material and helped me make sense of the phenomena, the organisations and the context I studied. The themes included formation of desire for culinary work, the student profile of the culinary school, how the schools portray culinary work, the show kitchen, performance of race/class/gender in the restaurant, ways of interaction between chefs and patrons, love for cooking/food/eating, the dark side of culinary work, the pleasant aspects of culinary work, recipes and secrecy, resistance, gender relations, etc. I then grouped these in 2, 3, or 4 levels of subthemes using at least one of three criteria: those grouped together would be of the same category of objects (e.g. idioms, culinary films); the type of organisations they were obtained from would be the same (e.g. restaurant, culinary school); they would pertain to the same aspect of contemporary organisational life or culinary work (e.g. the work ethos, the transition to post-Fordism, working conditions, representations of culinary work, producer-consumer relations, the dining experience).

Entirely new themes were created during the analyses between fieldworks. For example, I wrote my first ethnographic account after the preliminary research and experimented with psychoanalytically interpreting idiomatic expressions although this was not central to the analysis. This attempt received very positive feedback when presented to senior Lacanian colleagues and I was encouraged to pursue this technique further. Therefore, I began attentively listening to idiomatic expressions while conducting interviews and analysing audio-visual and discursive data. These expressions were also coded in NVivo during thematic analysis from the second fieldwork onwards. In addition to those interpreted in the thesis, I identified expressions such as *ağız tadı* [taste, one’s taste of mouth], *bıçak sallamak* [acquiring culinary experience, swinging knife], *el vermek* [to train, to give one’s hand] and

yüzmek [for the kitchen crew to be extremely busy, to swim].²² At the same time, I made an effort to develop my interpretative technique by paying particular attention to the analysis of idiomatic expressions and polyvalent discursive structures while reviewing the Lacanian literature. This is an illustrative case of iterating between fieldwork, deskwork, textwork that I practiced.

The third step in deskwork was to refine the themes and to code the ethnographic material at the sensitizing concepts. As such, excerpts from theory and data were juxtaposed. This juxtaposition helped me evaluate the sensitizing concepts and the competing theoretical frameworks against the ethnographic material. I considered how well I can answer the research questions with this material and adopting which approach. I designed the next stage of the research, furthered my literature review and began to create a thesis outline accordingly.

Rather than abstracting from the empirical material step-by-step in a linear manner to arrive at a number of categories like in Gioia Methodology (Gioia et al., 2012), I followed an iterative ethnographic approach (Nicolini, 2009). All of this iteration between fieldwork, analysis and theory laid the groundwork for psychosocial interpretation and an ethnographic narrative.

The last stage of deskwork was to create a narrative arc for the thesis with each body chapter addressing one research question and making at least one contribution to the literature. In short, the questions were how people came to love culinary work, how this love materialised, and what the consequences were for workers, organisations and production relations. The thematic analysis suggested that formation of desire for culinary work was largely owed to media organisations and culinary schools as agents disseminating particular representations of culinary work. Therefore, I drew on relevant themes such as ‘formation of desire for culinary work’, ‘how the schools portray culinary work’, ‘representations of culinary work in the media’ to write the first analysis chapter (Chapter 5). The thematic analysis also suggested that the restaurant was the primary site of materialisation and embodiment of love. Thereby, I used the related themes such as ‘the show kitchen’, ‘performance of race/class/gender in the restaurant’, ‘ways of interaction between chefs and patrons’ to write the second analysis chapter (Chapter 6). Lastly, I would discuss the consequences of loving one’s job for oneself, the organisation one works for and wider socio-economic relations.

²² In brackets are the translations and literal translations of idiomatic expressions respectively.

Thereby, I drew on themes such as ‘the dark side of culinary work’, ‘the new generation of chefs’ and ‘employability’ to write a discussion chapter (Chapter 7). Once the narrative arc was decided and the relevant themes were identified, the idiomatic expressions that would give insights into the themes were chosen.

Finally, I focused on the (sub)themes one by one, going through the data excerpts coded at those (sub)themes and the theoretical excerpts they were juxtaposed with. Thinking through these allowed me to do textwork, i.e. construct a narrative. During this process, I often revisited other concepts, texts and themes as necessary. The sensitizing concepts, thematic coding and coding of data at sensitizing concepts were all thinking aids used in analysing during textwork.

The analysis involved in textwork is difficult to account for due to the reasons cited in the beginning of this section. The two main tasks involved in this process were psychoanalytically interpreting the data (see Section 4.3) and constructing a narrative with a view to addressing the research questions and contributing to the literature. The rest of textwork is mostly about ‘formulation of ideas in the process of creating a written account’ from the ‘broader set of intuitive understandings of the fieldwork situation that remain hidden until’ (Van der Waal, 2009: 36) writing up. It should also be noted that the sensitizing (or other) concepts were invoked in the thesis when they aided the interpretation of idiomatic expressions or when I thought that they best explained the phenomenon under scrutiny. In other words, the deskwork only guided the textwork, did not dictate it.

Themes or concepts explored in the final version of the thesis were arrived at through drafting and reviewing the thesis following the iterative process described in this section. This may seem to some extent arbitrary or subjective to positivistically minded researchers. However, ethnography is guided by critical theory and analytical thinking rather than procedures and protocols (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 12-3; Mills, 1959: 224, cited in Humphreys and Watson, 2009: 42; Van der Waal, 2009: 36). I would argue that operationalising ‘key signifier’ as the most frequent word(s) in a Lacanian analysis (see Hoedemaekers and Keegan, 2010), for example, is much more arbitrary because it does not have a theoretical basis in Lacanian psychoanalysis. Yet, it does perhaps look methodologically rigorous to those uninitiated to Lacan or even to experienced Lacanian scholars searching for ways to translate psychoanalysis into a social research methodology in a way that convinces non-Lacanian scholars. My aim in this thesis, however, is to observe Lacanian epistemology and ethnographic

conventions while doing my best to convince fellow scholars including those with different epistemological approaches.

4.5 Conclusion

This is a multi-sited psychosocial organisational ethnography designed to study ‘love for one’s job’ and affective labour. It was conducted processually and revised between stages by iterating between theory and findings. By employing the methods of participant observation, interview and desk research, I was able to capture diverse empirical manifestations of psychosocial phenomena.

The foundations for analysis were laid by creating sensitizing concepts and coding their definitions on NVivo. The second step was to thematically analyse ethnographic material. The third included refining the themes and coding ethnographic material at sensitizing concepts in order to juxtapose them with potentially explanatory theoretical insights. The fourth was to create a narrative arc for the thesis and identify the themes to be explored and the idiomatic expressions to be interpreted in each chapter. Last but not least, the ethnographic material was analysed during textwork. This took two forms: psychoanalytically-inflected interpretation and narrative construction. These steps did not necessarily follow a linear temporality since I returned to various steps as I iterated between fieldwork and theory.

The methodology is built on a Lacanian epistemology and draws mainly on two theoretical insights. First, affect is not ontologically separate from discourse, so cannot be studied empirically in a pre-discursive state; and second, one must go beyond the imaginary (relational, context-bound, ephemeral) dynamics of a research encounter in order to study psychosocial phenomena beyond the personal and ephemeral. With these insights, idiomatic expressions in the ethnographic material were identified and interpreted in a psychoanalytically-inflected manner. The claims pertaining to love and affective labour are based on these interpretations while the overall ethnographic narrative is the product of my thinking the ethnographic material through the theories adopted in this thesis, i.e. the post-Fordist theory, the affective labour debate and the psychosocial theory.

This methodology is based on previous ethnographic, multi-sited and psychoanalytically-inflected research. Nevertheless, neither do these methodological traditions have a ‘rigid set of procedures’ (Mills, 1959: 224, cited in Humphreys and Watson, 2009: 42) nor is it straightforward to merge these different traditions into a

harmonious whole. As discussed earlier in this chapter, ethnography is being critically re-evaluated and reformed by researchers interested in multi-sited phenomena, the translation of psychoanalysis into social research is an ongoing debate and how one researches affect is directly linked to their theorisation of affect. This is one of the main reasons behind my iterative approach.

There were three crucial turns I took during this iterative process. One important change was in fieldwork design. My plan before conducting the second fieldwork was to form long-term relationships with culinary school students and follow them for a year. This was based on the idea that the culinary school was the earliest point I could reach people who are passionate about culinary work and a year would allow me to observe them at work and see if there were any changes to their affective disposition after working in a professional kitchen. This proved impractical as most students dropped out from the programme, never worked in the sector after graduation or worked only for a short while. And it was impossible to keep in regular contact with those who pursued a culinary career due to their very busy schedules. Therefore, I dropped the idea of following people from site to site.

Another crucial change was due to the political events in Turkey in 2016. During my fieldwork in February and April 2016, there were many bombings across the country negatively affecting the restaurant sector and creating safety concerns. Yet, I was planning one more fieldwork at a different restaurant and additional interviews for summer 2016. A failed coup attempt on 15th July created an atmosphere of violence, fear and uncertainty that led me to initially delay and later cancel my plans since I needed to move to the deskwork stage of my research. In order to enrich my ethnographic material, I extended my desk research and included more publicly available audio-visual and discursive data. I also conducted four semi-structured interviews via email correspondence with a culinary school graduate and former restaurant critic.

And the third important change was my decision to structure the analysis around idiomatic expressions as a gateway to the unconscious and affect. This decision led me to closely listen to my interlocutors' speech to spot any such idiomatic expressions, to ask their meaning especially during interviews, to code them on NVivo and make them the central pillar of the analysis. This was an ethical decision as well as a methodological one. As discussed in Section 4.3, Lacanian psychoanalysis argues that one cannot 'understand' the other without transposing their own situated knowledge

and experience (Fink, 2014a, 2014b). Hence, in Lacanian discourse, understanding of the other is ‘*always* partial, provisional, multilayered, incomplete, and projected (imaginary)’ (Fink, 2014a: 20). This does not mean, however, that we do not have access to some truth and the ability to articulate it. As explained in Section 4.3, we can capture partial truths that are not ephemeral and subjective only by engaging with the other via the symbolic register. In other words, it is by removing my feelings, thoughts and self-positioning in interpreting the psychosocial material that I believe I was able to capture some truth in Lacanian sense.

Removal of the self from interpretation is, of course, anathema to ethnographic self-reflexivity and neither is it entirely possible irrespective of the epistemological approach one adopts. In organisation studies and neighbouring disciplines, scholars call for:

a heightened self-awareness – a ‘reflexivity’ – of the ways in which their own persons (from education and training to experience to personalities to demographic characteristics) might be shaping the knowledge claims researchers advance with respect to their research topic: their ‘positionality’. (Ybema et al., 2009: 9)

Lacan does not reject that the psychoanalyst’s affective state and positionality shape the clinical encounter, nor do Lacanian researchers refute their significant impact on research and its outcomes (see Proudfoot, 2015: 8-9). Their argument, with which I agree, is that the analyst or the researcher cannot step outside of their positionality and make a non-imaginary, ‘objective’ evaluation of the (affective) encounter between the parties. Nor can one self-reflect as all reflection necessitates a triad of one, the other and the Other, hence the need for an analyst in psychoanalysis (see Proudfoot, 2015; Section 4.3). Furthermore, the aim in psychoanalysis is not to ‘cultivate an observing ego’ that ‘can self-consciously catch himself in the act of having this fantasy’ (Fink, 2014a: 5) which has little use in changing subjectivity, behaviour or thought, if at all. Therefore, one approach to reflexivity in Lacanian research is ‘psychoanalytic supervision, case consultation, and psychoanalysis itself’ (Proudfoot, 2015: 9). Nevertheless, neither is this an option for researchers without clinical training nor does going through psychoanalysis annihilate the complex power dynamics between the researcher and the researched. Hence, my own reflexive practice has been two-fold.

My first set of considerations were around using psychoanalysis in social research. I have adopted Lacan’s interpretative strategy of unpacking polyvalent

phrases in order to move beyond the ephemeral, interpersonal dynamics of the research encounter. I have chosen idiomatic expressions from among different types of polyvalent phrases because, as a native Turkish speaker, I can deduce their collectively shared, non-context bound meanings. Most importantly, I refrained from attempting to psychoanalyse my interlocutors and repeatedly reminded the readers of my inability to do so owing to my lack of expertise, challenges of applying psychoanalysis outside the clinical setting, the resistance of the unconscious to being made conscious, and the implications in terms of research ethics.

My second set of sensibilities were informed by ethnographic self-reflexivity. I made effort to ‘weave their analyses of their positionality into their textual representations’ (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, 2009: 60). I made my class, ethnic, educational background clear and should perhaps add that I am a cisHet woman (see Chapter 1; Section 4.0). I also shared the theoretical sources to which I have been exposed prior to conducting this research that inevitably shaped my approach and the theoretical premises on which the research is built (see Chapters 2 and 4). I explained my demographic and personal proximity to the new generation of Turkish cooks as well as reflecting upon how I formulated my research questions and my personal experiences of precarity and loving academic work (see Chapter 1; Chapter 8; Section 4.0). I believe these and more subtle expressions of my positionality in the thesis will better equip readers in critically evaluating the truth claims I make (Lapegna, 2009: 14, 16; Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, 2009: 68). In addition, triangulation was practiced in this research by drawing on multiple sources, methods and sites (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, 2009: 60-1). I also tried to ‘member-check’ (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, 2009: 62) but only one interviewee, to whom I am grateful, read my thesis thoroughly and provided detailed feedback. This is understandable since some of my interlocutors do not speak English at an advanced level, while most do not have the time and enthusiasm to read a full PhD thesis in their very limited free time. I have inferred from the congratulatory messages from interlocutors that I have earned their trust and hope this thesis is deserving of that.

The thesis makes methodological contributions emerging from cross-fertilisation between multi-sited organisational ethnography and psychosocial research. It sets out how to construct the ethnographic field in a psychoanalytically informed manner, an alternative to adopting clinical techniques for psychosocial

research, and a novel take on Lacanian analysis that focuses on the symbolic²³ rather than the imaginary²⁴. Taking the polyvalence of idiomatic expressions to the centre of my analysis in order to study unconscious and affective phenomena allows me to engage with the interlocutors through the symbolic register and not entertain a fantasy of psychoanalysing or ‘understanding’ my interlocutors. The thesis is based on the Lacanian idea of an unbreachable radical difference between subjects on the one hand, a non-binary divide between truth and knowledge on the other (Lacan, 2006: 727). The psychoanalytical interpretations aim at producing a truthful account of the researched unconscious and affective relations, while the overall narrative is an attempt at knowledge production based on this account.

My methodology has hitherto been welcome by scholars providing feedback on the written outputs from this research. Yet, it remains to be seen how this interpretive technique will be received in psychosocial and organisational studies. One potential limitation pertains to applicability to non-culinary contexts and other languages. The Turkish language is rich in culinary idioms and these are frequently invoked in daily language making it possible to study a wide range of phenomena through them. Researchers interested in this interpretative strategy should carefully consider whether it would prove as productive in the contexts they study. They may also consider interpreting other polyvalent discursive formations such as puns and witticisms as alternative ways of engaging with the interlocutor on a symbolic level. This would enable a wider application of the proposed methodology.

Another methodological challenge faced during this research was to abstract/generalise from the ethnographic material. All ethnographic research aims to preserve the particularity of the case being studied while establishing parallels and connections with other similar cases. I consider my interlocutors, the organisations researched and the Turkish fine-dining context to have both such particularities and commonalities with their counterparts. Special effort has been made to differentiate between local and global actors, forces, features and trends throughout the thesis.

²³ The unconscious relationship between the subject and the Other which is the psychic agent standing in for the society (see Section 4.3). This relationship is not context-bound and dependant on the relationship or affective exchange between two subjects in a clinical or research encounter.

²⁴ The conscious and unconscious relationship one has with another subject or other subjects (see Section 4.3). This relationship is context-bound and is shaped by the transient and interpersonal dynamics of a clinical or research encounter.

Despite these limitations, the methodology iteratively developed during this research by drawing on ethnographic, multi-sited, psychosocial research traditions has the potential for wider applicability. It knowingly refrains from procedures and protocols, which can be applied without a great deal of reconsideration in various settings, because it follows ethnographic conventions and Lacanian epistemology. Nevertheless, it provides a theoretically-rigorous epistemological approach that can inform future research and a method of psychoanalytical interpretation that researchers can adapt to different languages and settings.

Chapter 5: *Aşka Gelmek* – Identifying with the Culturified Image of Culinary Work

For cuisine is not food, it is food transcended, nature transformed into a social product, an aesthetic artefact, a linguistic creation, a cultural tradition (Clark, 1975).

This chapter inquires how people are lured into post-Fordist work in the Turkish fine-dining context, where ‘love for one’s job’ is a pervasive discourse, especially among a new generation of educated cooks. In particular, it investigates the culturification of the industry, a concept that I use to denote a particular mode of representation through which activities that produce economic value are rendered culturally valuable. Culturification, I argue, has not only changed the nature of the culinary commodity, but has also attracted university-educated middle-class individuals in search of creative, fulfilling careers to culinary work, resulting in ‘gentrification’ (Warhurst and Nickson, 2007: 793) of the culinary workforce. To explore this phenomenon, this chapter examines academic and popular representations of culinary practice as creative and passionate; communication of these attributes through discourse, artefacts and performance; and identification of middle-class, university-educated subjects with culturified images of culinary work. The chapter takes a gastro-culinary tour through high-end restaurants, culinary schools and movies in the footsteps of those who bring their passion to work.

Section 5.1 analyses the localism trend in gastronomy and its manifestations in Turkey. This trend aims to capture the essence of local food and present it in ways that will please contemporary fine-dining consumers. The section shows how the trend has been successfully adopted in Turkey and has brought international recognition to a number of chefs and restaurants. More importantly, it explores how localism has helped culturify the restaurant sector and popularise culinary work.

Section 5.2 investigates the positive change in popular perceptions of culinary work. This is manifested in a generational divide between the new Turkish middle class who see culinary work as a creative profession, and the previous generation of middle class who view it as a low-status, blue-collar job (for a discussion of the neoliberal transformation of the middle class, see Section 3.3). I trace the origins of this change to the emergence of the culinary arts discourse, which attributes creativity to culinary work. I also show how this attribute has made the culinary profession

desirable for university-educated middle-class subjects in search of creative jobs to pursue with passion.

Section 5.3 looks at the representation of culinary work as passionate and creative in popular culture, and how people become affectively attached to this representation. This section discusses three culinary-themed movies – *Julie and Julia*, *Facing Windows* and *Chocolat* – and their psychosocial impact on the new generation of educated chefs. To understand this impact, I look at two idiomatic expressions employed by my interlocutors to describe their reaction to these movies, namely *göz mutluluğu* [fulfilment] and *aşka gelmek* [to be enraptured], and interpret their unconscious meanings by deploying Lacanian theory (see Section 4.3). Departing from these interpretations, I analyse my interlocutors' identification with culturified images and discourses of culinary work.

Section 5.4 summarises the findings of the chapter and the contributions to the literature, especially regarding the processes of transition to post-Fordism, the cultural apparatuses that enable a post-Fordist shift in ideologies of work, and how these influence the unconscious processes of subject formation.

5.1 The chef and anthropologist: culturification of culinary production

Localism, a recent trend in culinary production, has changed the fine-dining scene over the last two decades. It is a reaction against cooking European recipes using imported European foodstuffs and techniques outside Europe (see Junka-Aikio and Cortes-Severino, 2017; Karaosmanoğlu, 2007; Miele and Murdoch, 2002; Yenal and Kubiena, 2016). While its followers emphasise benefits such as sustainability and preservation of culinary cultures, localism has become key to business success in the industry. It allows high-end restaurants to differentiate themselves from their counterparts around the world and gain recognition for their 'authenticity'. Chefs following this trend dive deep into local foodways in search of recipes, foodstuffs and cooking techniques that can be valorised in their restaurants.²⁵ Valorisation is achieved by applying Western cooking and dish design techniques to local food, in order to render it palatable and aesthetically pleasing to an international clientele.

A recent popular documentary series called *Chef's Table* perfectly captures manifestations of localism across the world (for example see Freid, 2018; Gelb, 2015a,

²⁵ Valorisation means increasing the exchange value of an object or service (for a detailed discussion, see Marx, 1864).

2015b; Jeter, 2015a, 2015b, 2018; McGinn, 2015a, 2015b). Each episode focuses on an acclaimed chef whose restaurant has featured in *The World's Best 50 Restaurants*, the most prestigious contemporary restaurant guide in the world. These include Massimo Bottura from Italy, Dan Barber from the US, Francis Mallmann from Argentina, Ben Shewry from Australia and Gaggan Anand from India. Some of these chefs live and work in their countries of origin (e.g. Christina Tosi), while others are immigrants to the Global North (e.g. Gaggan Anand). The series explores how the chefs' recipes are inspired and informed by the tastes of their childhood, home cooking, traditional recipes, local food cultures, locally grown foodstuffs, and so on:

A typical meal at Gaggan is a journey. It's an adventure. Everything that Gaggan is doing has roots in different regions of India. Almost all of it is street food-rooted. You can trace back the courses. No matter how sophisticated and crazy they are, they're all rooted in something very local, something indigenous (Mason Florence on Gaggan Anand, Gelb, 2015).

Christina is a uniquely American chef. She's not trying to be French. She is not running off to Japan. She is America. And America is delicious (Christine Muhlke on Christina Tosi, Freid, 2018).

As shown above, extracting the 'essence' of a culture and preparing it for foreigners' consumption is at the root of localism. Throughout the series, it is emphasised that these chefs owe their monumental success to their ability to capture local tastes, reshape them according to the conventions of contemporary gastronomy, and present them in an aesthetically pleasing manner.

In Turkey, increasing numbers of high-end restaurants and acclaimed chefs have begun to follow this trend over the last two decades. Some, like Vedat Başaran, have turned to Ottoman cuisine in search of forgotten recipes (Karaosmanoğlu, 2007: 430). Others have looked for little-known regional dishes and ingredients (for example, see Jeter, 2018). Among the latter, at the vanguard of 'the New Anatolian Cuisine' (the name given to the Turkish branch of the localism trend), is Mehmet Gürs, a world-renowned chef and restaurateur.

About a decade ago, Gürs recruited Tangör Tan to travel the country in pursuit of high-quality and lesser-known foodstuffs to source his fine-dining restaurant (Grundig, 2017). Tan was well-suited to the job, as he had undergraduate degrees in both agricultural engineering and gastronomic sciences, experience in professional cooking, and familial ties with a farming community in western Turkey. In time, he

formed lasting relationships with farmers engaged in small-scale organic production across the country, and ensured sustainable access to the best products more cheaply by circumventing intermediaries (NTV, 2017). As the project became a success, bringing fame to Tan and increasing that of Gürs, the duo began to create a database of providers (NTV, 2017). More recently, Tan has expanded his research to local recipes and cooking techniques, which have informed and inspired Gürs's cooking.

In 2018, these initiatives won Gürs's fine-dining restaurant 44th place in *The World's Best 50 Restaurants*. In its short review of the restaurant, *The 50 Best Restaurants Academy* emphasises Tan's above-mentioned activities and Gürs's culinary innovations:

Not many restaurants employ a full-time anthropologist. But then Mikla in İstanbul is no ordinary restaurant. Tangör Tan works alongside chef and restaurateur Mehmet Gürs to rediscover a culinary heritage that's in danger of disappearing and revive it in a 21st century context.

The project has been called the New Anatolian Kitchen, and it sources rare ingredients such as halhali olives and halwa from obscure villages all over Turkey. While supporting independent farmers and producers, it also aims to explore ancient cooking techniques – experimenting with clay pots, urns and other earthenware vessels – to keep old traditions alive (theworlds50best, 2017b).

As seen in this excerpt, Tan's expeditions in Anatolia have been elevated to the status of anthropological research. Leaving aside the question of whether they qualify for the title, I focus on how representing these expeditions as anthropological may alter perceptions of culinary work.

First, these expeditions are portrayed as intellectual work aimed at knowledge production, completely disregarding the profit-making motive behind the operation and the commercial transactions that take place. Second, the term 'anthropology' is adopted to suggest that these cooking vessels are cultural in nature, although most are commonplace in Turkey, and even available in high-street kitchenware stores in the UK. The culturalness of local kitchenware, foodstuffs and culinary techniques is further emphasised by adopting an Orientalist discourse that mixes literary and anthropological genres (e.g. 'culinary heritage', 'obscure villages', 'ancient cooking techniques'). Third, it is suggested that these 'disappearing' cultural objects are not only being rediscovered by anthropologist Tan, but are also being revived by Gürs, the creative chef. In other words, by representing these commercial activities as

cultural, Tan's and Gürs's work are elevated to a higher social status. This excerpt exemplifies the phenomenon of 'culturification', a term I propose to denote the (re)presentation of commercial activities, objects and productive practices as cultural in order to increase their economic value and social standing.

While conducting this research, I came across numerous manifestations of culturification in the Turkish culinary sector, and in its ancillaries such as the culinary education sector. For example, a prestigious culinary school had a lounge lined with display cabinets, which it called a culinary museum. These were filled with a miscellaneous collection of aged, somehow cooking-related objects including colourful bottles, tin boxes, copper pots, plasters, soap bars, shaving foam and kitchen utensils, which lay unlabelled, side-by-side in the cabinets. Whether displaying these almost random objects qualifies as a museum by today's standards is questionable. However, having a space called a 'museum' dedicated to objects (remotely) associated with kitchens and food production attested to the latter's culturalness. After all, museum as an institution is based on the premise of a legitimate authority to identify objects of cultural value.

Attributing cultural value to the services and goods produced by the culinary industry not only increases the economic value of its outputs, but also glorifies fine-dining production and elevates it to the status of a cultural or creative activity. Artefacts and discourses discussed in this section offer sugar-coated representations of culinary production and a more esteemed view of the culinary profession. These have been instrumental in changing negative public perceptions of culinary work and recruiting educated middle- and upper-class workers.

The next section focuses on the culturification of culinary labour, and investigates the positive change in popular perceptions of culinary work and the role played by the culinary arts discourse in this change. The section will show that representing culinary work as creative has made it desirable for university-educated middle-class subjects, and has provided a new socio-symbolic structure with which they can identify.

5.2 Culturification of culinary labour

Selay: So, as you have seen for yourself, there is this perception about this profession... Even though schools are opening, and the number of educated cooks is increasing... Before, uneducated people, I mean kids who were seen

as underachieving, would be taken to [a restaurant to] train with an *usta* [master] and would self-improve to pursue the profession. This is what our families have known.

This excerpt is from an interview conducted for this study with Selay, a female patisserie chef in her late twenties. She explains that her parents see culinary work as a blue-collar job suitable only for under-achieving working-class children with no chance of upward social mobility.²⁶ There is truth to this perception, since for decades professional cooking has typically involved working-class kids getting working-class jobs. These children, usually through kinship ties, would be placed in professional kitchens by their parents once they finished compulsory education. They would begin their career as a *bulaşıkçı* [steward] at around the age of ten and learn the trade through years of apprenticeship (see Section 3.1; Batuman, 2010; Yenal and Kubiena, 2016: 65). Having to drop out at an early age was a barrier to their educational attainment. This, together with classicism, brought about the stereotype of the uneducated culinary worker. Even the vocational hospitality schools that existed for decades did not alter this view, as their students would also come from disadvantaged backgrounds and lack cultural capital. Thus, culinary work was regarded as a low skill, dull, blue-collar job, unsuitable for university-educated people with middle- or upper-class backgrounds.

Selay: I guess my family is really modern. They go out to dine and stuff but that [being a desirable job] is not how they perceive it. For example, there is now a group of people with awareness. They say, ‘this establishment has a good chef, this is well prepared’. But they [our families] don’t look at it that way. ‘It’s food, someone cooked it.’ That’s how they look at it. They [my family] thought so until I engaged with this. Of course, I tried to break this taboo they have. Also, I am a university graduate. They say ‘Why? Did you study for nothing? You studied for five years, came to this age, and are now going to start a new career from scratch?’ ... when I visit my home town, [my father says] ‘how are things daughter?’ [I say] ‘dad, it’s tiring but I love it. It is tiring because I love it... I get tired, but I don’t care, I don’t mind because I enjoy it.’ He says, ‘oh yes, it is like a hobby, you enjoy doing it’. So he can still see it as a hobby, as something I can give up any minute. So, at that time, they found it difficult to accept [me becoming a chef]. But I had to somehow engrain it in their minds that this is a normal job which other people also do. Repeatedly telling them that there are educated cooks now, the majority of my classmates are university graduates anyway, and so on and so forth... Unfortunately, that’s kind of how it is. So my relatives, for example, can’t

²⁶ In the 1990s, in the US too, culinary work was performed predominantly by ‘the children of blue-collar workers’ (Fine, 2008: 9).

make sense of what I do. ‘Why? What is your purpose? You go into an underground kitchen [at the café]’... My aunt came here [to the café and said] ‘What was the point of locking yourself underground like this? So, what do you do now? What’s the point? If so [if you liked it so much], you could bake at home.’

This excerpt shows that Selay’s family view culinary work as slavish, pointless, or at best a pastime, but not as a ‘normal’ career that a middle-class university graduate should pursue. They do not believe it requires any qualifications, and regret that Selay is ‘wasting’ her degree, for which she studied for five years. Culinary work is not only unrelated to her studies but also has low social status. Her aunt’s choice of words is especially telling: ‘locked’ and ‘underground’ evoke confinement, hard labour (like mining), dirty work, illicit activities and punishment. In adopting them, she insinuates that culinary work is comparable to the forced labour of convicts or slaves, and that no one able to exercise free will would choose to do it because it is undignified.

This gloomy image of culinary work is partly a product of the conditions under which it is usually performed. First, restaurant kitchens are ‘known for being small, nasty, cramped places’ (Fine, 2008: 67), very hot, with a lack of natural light and insufficient ventilation. Second, high rates of workplace injuries and long hours of intense physical work are widespread in professional kitchens (Fine, 2008: 69-70). Third, the gap in terms of pay, benefits and security between office jobs (white-collar work) requiring university degrees and culinary work (and other blue-collar work) requiring lower, if any, qualifications had been significant until the last two decades (also see Chapter 1 and Section 3.4). In addition, there are age-old hierarchies between mental and manual labour, as well as the lower social status accorded to service-sector employment owing to its reminders of domestic service. All these factors have culminated in the stigmatisation of culinary work and classist attitudes toward cooks that Selay’s family also exhibit.

However, Selay sees culinary work as a respectable profession, and tries to change her family’s attitude by emphasising that she is surrounded by a new generation of educated chefs with university degrees. While her family seems oblivious to improved perceptions of culinary work, Selay receives social recognition from a new generation of consumers whose connoisseurship outstrips that of her family (for more on contemporary connoisseurship, see Fine, 2008: 9; Yenal and

Kubiena, 2016: 67). These have ‘awareness’, as she puts it, of the cultural capital necessary to appreciate fine food and the skills necessary to produce it.

The development of connoisseurship and the emergence of a new generation of educated cooks in Turkey are part of a global socio-cultural shift effected by a growing exchange between the arts and cookery:

Starting with the ‘Manifesto of Futurist Cooking’ (1930), the Eat Art concepts developed by Daniel Spoerri et al. in the 1960s, and the doctrine of the ‘Art of Cooking’ developed by Peter Kubelka from 1978 onwards, countless positions have emerged that investigate food not only as an object of representation (still life) or representational material, but explicitly as edible representational content (Van der Meulen and Wiesel, 2017b: 15).

Alternative genealogies to the above can be suggested, but what is crucial for the purpose of this study is the recent emergence of the culinary arts discourse at the intersection of gastronomy and arts. This discourse constructs culinary practice as a form of art which deploys food and cookery as artistic media to convey abstract thought. It is a melting pot of different approaches that attribute symbolic meaning to ingredients, dish design, the colours and texture of the food, the practice of cooking, the vessels used, the space in which food is served and the materials used to decorate that space.²⁷

The culinary arts discourse has been adopted and developed somewhat uncritically by scholars of food and restaurants. For instance, according to Miele and Murdoch, ‘the creation of traditional dishes is ... an “artful” activity, one that requires skill, knowledge, and care’ (2002: 322). Similarly, Fine argues in his pioneering restaurant ethnography that cooks are animated by a ‘creative impulse’ (2008: 137). Clark proclaims that ‘if every chef (creator) cooks, not every cook (re-creator) is a creative chef, although any cook who modifies a recipe is in some measure a chef’ (1975: 33).

As seen in these quotes, the culinary arts discourse has changed the meaning of ‘chef’, from an organisational title indicating higher rank attained through experience, to a more prestigious (organisational) subject position claimed on the basis of perceived creativity (Jones, 2011). Thanks to this semantic shift, there is now a socio-

²⁷ For example, see commentaries on Rikrit Tiravanija’s ‘art installations’ by food scholars and art critics (Bröcker, 2017; Van der Meulen and Wiesel, 2017a, 2017b). His work usually takes the form of cooking and serving food to visitors at museums, and is critically acclaimed for its artistic quality.

symbolic place (i.e. chef) with which educated, middle-class cooks like Selay and Fulya (see below) can identify, in an (unconscious) effort to differentiate themselves from regular, traditional or self-trained cooks and claim recognition for their higher social and organisational status. Unlike the previous experience- and skills-based attribution of the title ‘chef’, this new identification requires no material basis since creativity is unquantifiable and subjective.

In Turkey, educated cooks self-identify as *şef* [chef], while continuing to call experienced self-trained cooks *usta* [master] and inexperienced self-trained cooks *aşçı* [cook]. They thereby identify with the culinary arts discourse, which helps distance them from self-trained cooks who are perceived as lacking in cultural capital and creativity. For example, Fulya, a female educated chef in her late twenties, believes that self-trained cooks are needed in the fine-dining sector for arduous, unqualified, low-paid work because educated cooks would only endure it for a limited time, after which they would expect to move to more highly ranked, creative positions. She also argues that lower-ranking cooks are required to follow orders and instructions, and are not provided with the room and resources needed for self-expression, experimentation and creativity that educated cooks desire. This is not a problem for the self-trained cook who is uninterested in the creative aspect of cooking, Fulya claims. However, the job motivation of educated cooks depend on their ‘desire for creative production’ (Terranova, 2000:36), which may direct them to look for other avenues where it can be satisfied if culinary work fails to do so.

This section has investigated the culturification of culinary labour. It has shown how the culinary arts discourse has changed perceptions of culinary work in Turkey, from low-skill and undesirable to creative and highly attractive. I have suggested that these new attributes have motivated university-educated, middle-class subjects with a desire for creative production to pursue culinary work. It is important to note that this desire is formed through a complex psychosocial process in which subjects engage with, shape and act on the ideology embedded in cultural content. They do not passively receive it.

The next section focuses on the formation of affective attachments to culturified representations of culinary work. It inquires how ‘hegemonic discourses, images, and fantasies being broadcast all around us’ (Fink, 2014a: 53) inhabit our unconscious and shape our desires by studying three culinary-themed movies that incited my

interlocutors' desire to pursue culinary work and their affective responses to these movies.

5.3 Fulfilled eyes: hooked by culturified images of culinary work

I am sad to see that some schools – and *Culinary School*-1²⁸ takes the lead – puff up cheffing so much... For example, every summer or in September, they run huge advertisements. ... In Turkey right now, like I said, [culinary work is presented as] girls making macaroons, wearing uniforms... There is something ludicrous like the American dream in what is now being presented. The world isn't like that. The work is not anything like they imagine. ... What they imagine is an alternative job, more relaxed, like... Why do people leave management positions and... No! Cheffing is precisely where you'll experience stress. Do they really think they'll open a cute shop like in the movies? I don't know.

These are my sister Sinem's words. She has a degree in public administration from a prestigious Turkish university. During her studies, she worked for a multinational retailer, spending long hours on her feet in a shopping mall without daylight or fresh air. It was not really her dream job, but with her degree and skills, she climbed the ladder relatively fast. In the few years following her graduation she became store manager for an upscale clothing brand in Izmir's affluent Alsancak district. She loved the cafés around her workplace, and was particularly fond of one run by an elderly Levantine lady whom she befriended. Opportunities for further upward mobility in the clothing chain were limited, and her father-in-law insisted that she work in the family business to help expand it. She eventually accepted his offer, but it was soon clear that she did not want to stay there for long.

Her dream was to start her own business – a café. She enjoyed cooking at home, hosting friends and family for dinner and showcasing the latest recipes she had mastered. We all loved the traditional-style eggplant pastry she cooked in the summer, her *çerkez tavuğu* [Circassian chicken], a labour-intensive regional dish, and her *keşkek*, a traditional dish that most urban dwellers from our generation would not know how to cook. As she developed her skills, she received more encouragement from friends to pursue a culinary career, but not so much from the family, who shared the traditional view of culinary work. She attended a few culinary workshops in Izmir and Istanbul, mainly for fun, but also to get a sense of professional cooking. After a short

²⁸ See Section 4.2.

experiment running her own small café with two other partners and working in her friend's café-restaurant to get a sense of real culinary work, at the age of 30 she invested her savings in culinary education in Italy.

I conducted the interview from which the above excerpt was taken after she had gained several years of experience in the fine-dining sector (six months in Italy and the rest in Istanbul). Like most educated cooks whom I interviewed, Sinem criticised whitewashed, aestheticised images of culinary work, suggesting that the media paint a rosy picture of the profession that misleads cookery enthusiasts. Some naive people have been influenced by these images and pay sizeable amounts of money to culinary schools in the expectation that culinary work will be fun. These types, she believes, will often fail to get to the end of their training, as they do not have what it takes to become a chef: physical, mental and emotional resilience.

This trope was repeated by others, including Deniz, a female educated chef in her late twenties:

As a lady, I faced challenges in this sector, in the kitchen. If there were a hundred graduates from our department, cookery, maybe ten of them still continue [to work in the culinary sector]. The majority of the ladies especially have quit. Some quit during their training. Because it is not the chocolate box it appears to be from the outside. [...] Don't be fooled by my petite appearance. I got very good references from all the places I worked for. I reached a very good place in a short space of time. I worked with very good chefs in good places. I never flirted with the idea of giving up, or dodging heavy lifting, escaping work. In fact, I realised that I was quite strong. It all went very smoothly. I was successful from the get-go, so doors opened to me. Maybe I am also a little bit lucky. I mean, most of my friends quit. I am just one of those who persevered.

Here, Deniz implies that sugar-coated representations of culinary work appeal to many, especially young women, but that these representations turn out to be deceptive on entering the demanding world of culinary work. Only those with stamina, she believes, survive in this challenging environment. This is a rather popular gendered and classed narrative of culinary work, representing it as a masculine job suitable for the powerful, strong-willed and emotionally resilient. Privately-educated female cooks, especially, are viewed as less likely to possess these qualities.

Almost all the educated cooks I talked to compared themselves with this stereotype of naive educated cooks from well-off families wasting their resources to pursue unrealistic dreams, only to drop out in no time. They saw themselves as

immune to glamourised representations of culinary work, and appeared to be well-informed of its difficulties before getting involved. They often compared themselves, as did Deniz and Sinem, with classmates and colleagues who had dropped out during their training or in the first few years of their career. The longer they worked in the sector, the more they seemed to prove that they had what it takes. Individuals were labelled as weak, even though most of my interlocutors were well aware of structural problems, such as widespread bullying and sexual harassment, that drive people to resign.²⁹ Somehow, sacrificing one's wellbeing to pursue one's passion was the new sensible.

Ironically, most of these interlocutors also shared their dreams of opening a restaurant in an idyllic coastal town, had attended the same or similar culinary schools, and cited the same movies and TV shows as their sources of inspiration. If they were aware of the dark side of culinary work, why were they still moved by these images? What messages had they internalised? What had made these messages so enticing and potent? In the rest of this section, I try to answer these questions.

Shortly before Sinem embarked on culinary work, we watched *Julie & Julia* (2009) together. This movie is based on two real-life stories: that of Julie Powell, 'a lonely cubicle worker' turned food blogger, and American TV presenter and cookbook author, Julia Child. Julie's story unfolds in 1991. She is 30, unsatisfied with her job, and contemplating pursuing something she loves. Financialisation, job insecurity, longer working hours and urban gentrification engulf New York where Julie lives. Julie's job as a mid-level bureaucrat is disparaged by those around her. Her friends –

²⁹ I did not specifically investigate bullying and harassment as part of this research, but several interlocutors shared their own or colleagues' horrendous experiences. To give a few examples, a female interlocutor was repeatedly subjected to sexual harassment and assault in three different workplaces, which she reported to her managers but they took no disciplinary or preventative action. She finally ended her culinary career with great heartache and disappointment. A male interlocutor spoke about a young male colleague in training who had been sexually assaulted by other male colleagues at work. He had later been ridiculed as weak, and was ostracised for being a 'snitch' when disciplinary action was taken in response to his complaint. A (heterosexual) male interlocutor talked about his line manager sexually assaulting him and using homophobic slurs for not being 'tough enough' with a junior colleague whom he line-managed. Some of my interlocutors thought that bullying and harassment were used systematically by some self-trained cooks to drive away educated cooks, especially women. While antagonism between self-trained and educated cooks, as well as the historical gender segregation in professional kitchens, are likely to play a role, it is of course wrong to point the finger at a social group and implicate them all in such wrongdoing. Reports from interlocutors and my participant observations suggest that there are significant differences between restaurants with regard to levels of bullying and harassment. Availability of disciplinary procedures, the gender and attitude of managers, the gender distribution of the workforce, the ratio of educated to self-trained cooks, and organisational culture all play an important role, as would be expected.

a manager in a property development firm, a corporate publicist and a journalist – patronise her, while her clients call her ‘heartless’ and ‘pen-pusher’. She herself believes there is a lack of opportunity for career progression in her organisation. Longing for a purpose in life, she turns to Julia Child’s *Mastering the Art of French Cooking* and embarks on a culinary/literary journey. She cooks all the recipes in the book in a year, and blogs about it throughout. We watch her find solace in her kitchen, struggle with work life–balance, and hit a few bumps along the road with her husband as she progresses. Yet she builds a following for her blog, recipe by recipe, and finally attracts the attention of a reporter at the *New York Times*. Following the publication of an article about her journey (Hesser, 2003), she is showered with offers from literary agents, publishers and movie makers. Having found her calling, she says: ‘Both of us [Julia Child and Julie Powell] were lost and both of us were saved by food in some way or another. So major overlaps.’

 Sunday, August 25, 2002

The Book:

“Mastering the Art of French Cooking”. First edition, 1961. Louisette Berthole. Simone Beck. And, of course, Julia Child. The book that launched a thousand celebrity chefs. Julia Child **taught America to cook**, and to eat. It’s forty years later. Today we think we live in the world **Alice Waters** made, but beneath it all is Julia, 90 if she’s a day, and no one can touch her.

The Contender:

Government drone by day, renegade foodie by night. Too old for theatre, too young for children, and too bitter for anything else, Julie Powell was looking for a challenge. And in the Julie/Julia project she found it. Risking her marriage, her job, and her cats’ well-being, she has signed on for a deranged assignment.

365 days. 536 recipes. One girl and a crappy outer borough kitchen.

How far will it go? We can only wait. And wait. And wait....

The Julie/Julia Project. Coming soon to a computer terminal near you.

9:39:20 PM # [comment \[\]](#)

© Copyright 2002 Julie Powell .
Last update: 9/1/02; 11:12:27 AM .

Figure 11: First entry in Julie Powell’s blog

Source: Powell (2002)

‘Both of us were lost and both of us were saved by food in some way or another. So major overlaps’: this could equally well be a quote by Sinem referring to Julie. When she watched the movie, Sinem was the same age as Julie. Like her, she was married without children, university-educated and middle class. Also similarly to Julie, she felt at a dead-end in her career and did not particularly enjoy her job. She was also surrounded by friends with more prestigious jobs (engineers, managers, medical doctors, etc.) who had higher disposable incomes and consumerist lifestyles,

with whom she struggled to keep up. There were also striking similarities between their socio-economic contexts. The movie unfolds during the 1990 economic recession in the US, and Sinem was watching it in the aftermath of the 2008 global financial crisis which drove Turkey into recession. In short, Sinem faced similar problems to Julie's, pertaining to class, professional identity, work–life balance, economic uncertainty and job satisfaction. And here was Julie offering a magic solution on a golden plate: Do What You Love! Pursue a culinary career!

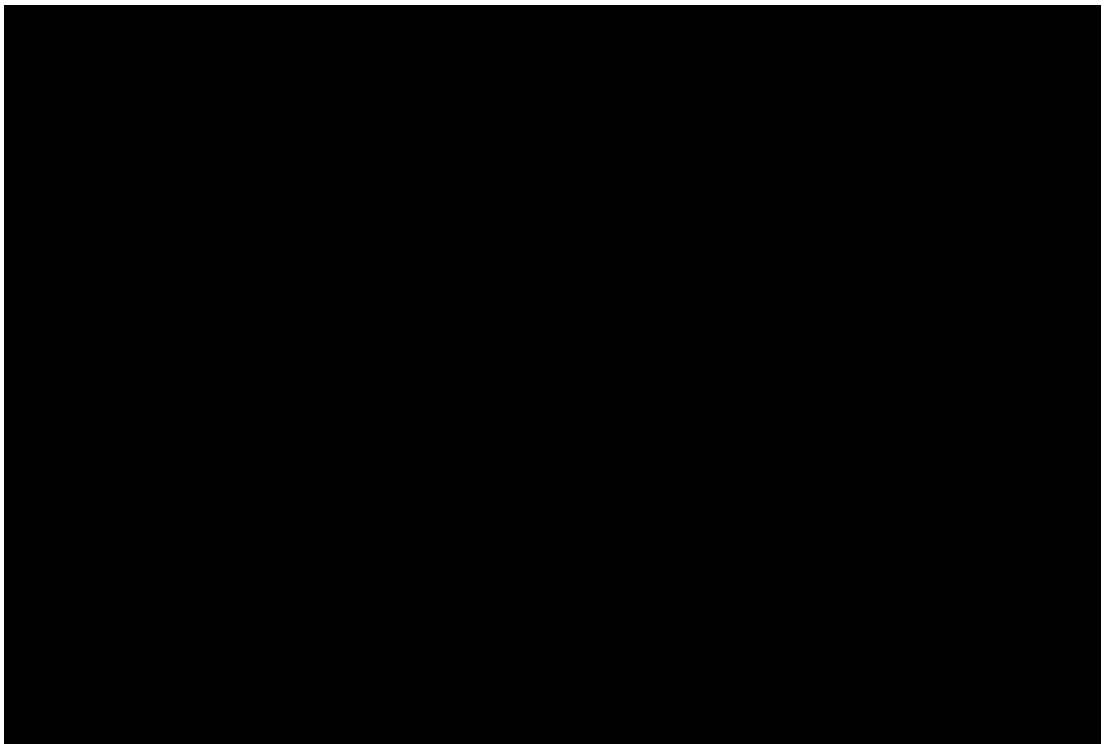


Figure 12: *Julie and Julia* (2009)

As previously noted, the Lacanian split subject yearns for a fulfilled existence, a neverland where all is harmonious and everyone is satisfied (see Sections 2.2 and 4.3). Although temporarily, subjects find this unity in images that constitute the imaginary register, which is fed by movies, artefacts, architecture, arts, etc. (see Fotaki, 2010: 706-707; Roberts, 2005). These images reflect how a society makes sense of itself and the world that surrounds it, represent its beliefs, and engrain its desires into the material world. They reproduce social imaginaries that promise individuals full enjoyment and satisfaction (see Böhm and Batta, 2010; Müller, 2013; Stavrakakis, 2006) or offer communities a unitary socio-political entity free from antagonism (for example, see Müller, 2013). The genre of culinary romantic-comedies (e.g. *Julie and Julia*, *No Reservations*, *Facing Windows*, *Chocolat*) studied in this section achieves

precisely this effect, as my interlocutors' reactions to the movies reveal. Seda, a culinary school student in her twenties, said:

– So, do the movies you mention [*Julie and Julia*, *No Reservations*] make you think 'culinary work is nice, I should become a cook' then?³⁰

Of course, because...

– Do they give you motivation?

Movies are in fact the source of motivation. Once, I went to a restaurant in Taksim [a central district in Istanbul]. ... We ordered beef with a creamy, cheesy risotto. It was very delicious. I asked 'Can I please see the chef? I want to congratulate them.' They said 'He is in the kitchen now. You are welcome [to visit] if you would like to.' But when I saw the chef, he was very happy to hear the compliment, yet was so tired that we thought, 'they are strained, exhausted'. But the films, even if they show you that tiredness, that exhaustion, they make you see it in a fully positive light. They convey the message: 'Look, the kitchen is very pleasant. There is love and food.' And the movies target women's weaknesses. You see romance, food, enjoyment. Even if [the chef] is very disciplined, you see how they also trespass that discipline. And you become motivated when you see these. And you say, 'I want this too. I should also do this. So, I should open my own place and try.'

– They are convincing, then?

Yes. They fool you a little bit. They do not really deceive you, but they influence you. For example, they prepare their own balsamic vinegars, keep their mushrooms in special tin boxes. These look impressive and enchant you. And that's the real appeal.

As these comments show, culinary-themed movies and TV shows such as *Julie & Julia*, which have mushroomed since 2000 both in Turkey and abroad, offer a serene and harmonious existence by glossing over the cracks in neoliberal capitalist and post-Fordist work, while also providing a pseudo-liberty from capitalist oppression. They present the kitchen as a sanctuary from 'the iron cage', the heartless and suffocating world of Fordist mass production. Preparing your own balsamic vinegar and keeping your mushrooms in tin boxes represent this non-industrial or part-industrial way of living, in which one is connected with 'the organic' and 'the authentic', with space for pleasure, as well as time for self-care and nurturing loved ones.

³⁰ *No Reservations*, released in 2007, is about a young female chef who is passionately dedicated to her job as executive chef of a New York fine-dining restaurant, which she performs at the expense of her personal life and emotional wellbeing.

This message is conveyed through aesthetic, soothing, heart-warming scenes. Baking a cake in slow motion is a classic example (see Figure 14) – sifting flour, sprinkling ground cinnamon, pouring the shiny liquid mix into a tray, chopping perfectly red strawberries, etc. Others include a patisserie full of beautiful cakes of all shapes and colours of which one can only dream (see Figure 13), or a very happy social gathering around a dinner table with an impressive spread (see Figure 12). These represent culinary work as creative, fun, sociable and very rewarding, no matter how hard the work. Even though the audience realises that there is a dark side to culinary work, such images are enchanting, as Seda emphasises above. Thus, their appeal is not a result of deception *per se*, but of a capacity to incite desire by promising fulfilment and evoking affect.

For example, *Facing Windows* (2003) is a well-known culinary-themed movie that exploits cinematography to emphasise the beauty of culinary work. It narrates the story of Giovanna, a young female accountant in a chicken-processing factory, who is married with two children. Her husband loses his white-collar job following an economic crisis and begins to work night shifts at a petrol station. To compensate for the lost income, Giovanna bakes cakes for a local pub in her free time. She is overworked, on a low income and in an insipid relationship. She has two desires, which she keeps at bay to preserve the status quo: opening her own patisserie and engaging romantically with her neighbour. Lorenzo, the neighbour, is a handsome young mid-manager at a bank, a well-to-do member of the new middle class. Giovanna and Lorenzo live in facing flats and secretly gaze at each other across the street through their windows. A chance encounter provides them with an opportunity finally to start a romantic relationship. Having to choose between her family and Lorenzo, Giovanna comes up with a third option: fulfilling her desire to become a patisserie chef. She chooses to attain a ‘socially sanctioned pleasure’ (Böhm and Batta, 2010: 356) that is not in excess, nor in breach of social norms such as the sanctity of the family. She forgoes her passion for Lorenzo in return for her husband’s support for her new career. Her desire is displaced onto an object that is sufficiently removed from her sexual desire to be sublimated into love – love for one’s job (for more on sublimation, see Section 6.3; Freud, 1915: 137; Johnston, 2005: 67)! The movie ends with Giovanna working happily in a patisserie and having a recipe accepted for its menu.

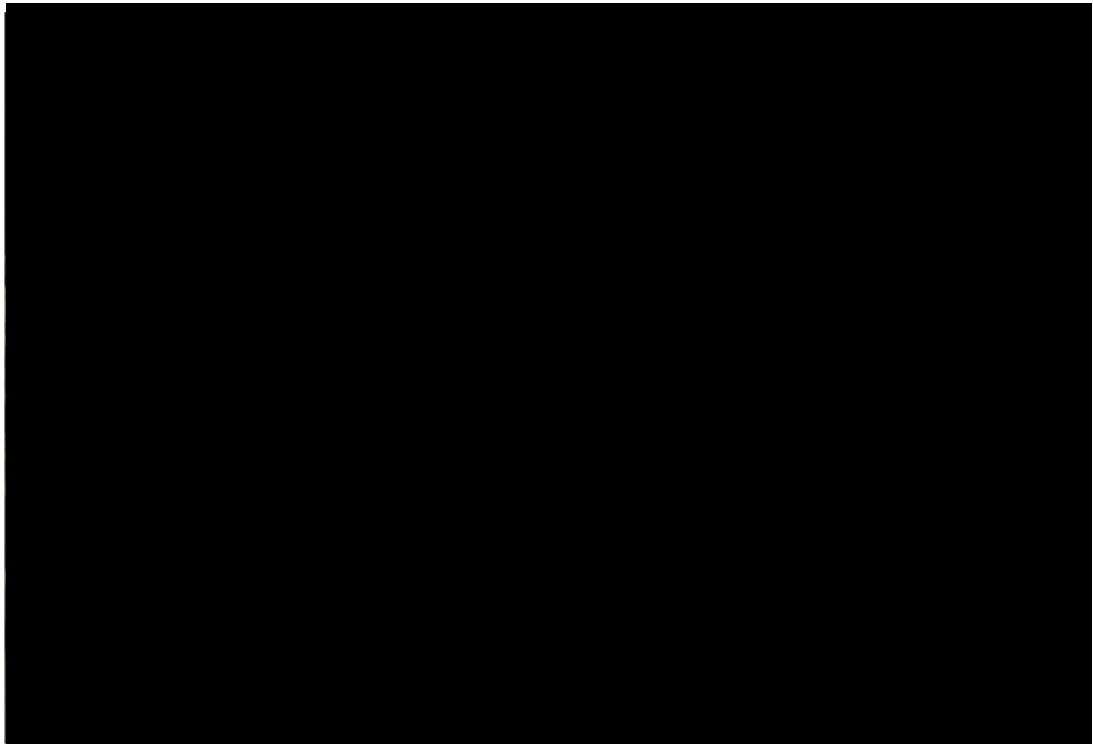


Figure 13: *Facing Windows* (2003)

Both *Julie & Julia* and *Facing Windows* show the suffering of lower- and mid-ranking office workers as their countries transition to post-Fordism. The highly routine work that they perform becomes ever more unbearable, while the increased working hours allow little respite. Erosion of wages, job security and social status by neoliberalism and economic crises weaken their attachments to work. The type of work they do is no longer a source of meaning or social recognition, neither does it provide good living standards. The sense of duty that served as the source of motivation under Fordism is now giving way to a search for pleasure at work. In this gloomy picture, the silver lining is cookery, an almost utopian escape from soul-destroying jobs. Creative, aesthetic, social and embodied, culinary work is portrayed as the binary opposite of office work.

Chocolat (2000), a popular movie worth mentioning not least because it influenced Selay's decision to become a patisserie chef, speaks to the post-Fordist worker's yearning for self-fulfilment, the pursuit of passion and pleasure. The main character, Vianne is a young female chocolatier who uses chocolate 'to awaken the passion'. She comes from a South American ancestry of nomads who dispensed cacao remedies as they travelled from village to village, and she carries on the tradition as the single mother of a young girl. She has no belongings except a suitcase, nor is she

concerned with accumulating wealth. Her latest destination is a depressing, conservative village in rural France. Here, Vianne wages war against the traditional values of modesty and self-discipline promoted by the church. With cacao, she ‘unlocked hidden yearnings and revealed destinies’ of the local people, especially the outcast and the oppressed. She helps them self-realise and enlivens community relations. Having completed her mission, ‘Parishioners felt a new sensation ... A lightening of the spirit. A freedom from the old tranquillité.’³¹



Figure 14: *Chocolat* (2000)

Looked at together, we see that *Julie and Julia*, *Facing Windows* and *Chocolat* all celebrate replacement of the Protestant work ethic based on hard work and abstinence (see Weber, 2005) with the post-Fordist work ethos based on pursuit of passion and attainment of pleasure through work (see Weeks, 2011). They ridicule or criticise ‘specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart’ (Weber, 2005: 124) who see work only as a means to an end (i.e. profits or wages). Their protagonists all unleash their desires, and express and liberate themselves *through work*. Such provocative portrayals of culinary work incite desire in viewers, as professed by Ayşe, a female trainee at a high-end restaurant with a culinary education:

³¹ Tranquility, calm, peace and quiet refers here to the depressingly routine and disciplined life in the town.

I watch quite a few culinary TV shows rather than movies. I mean, I used to [before the training]. I have always loved watching things about the kitchen since my childhood, anyway.

– Have you watched *Julie and Julia* then?

Yes, I have.

– When? Was it before or after you became a cook?

Before [she giggles].

– So, what did you think about it?

Well, I really liked that the woman [Julia Child] showed so much effort to do what she wanted back then [in the 1940s]. Also, I decided to become a cook after watching the film. In fact, I thought about going [to culinary school]. But I could not put together enough money. I was going to start in the sector four to five years ago. That [movie] actually enraptured [*aşka getirdi*] me.

Ayşe adopts the idiom *aşka gelmek* to explain her reaction to *Julie and Julia*. Its first meaning is to be enraptured. It captures her sudden urge to pursue culinary work, and the enthusiasm she felt on watching the movie. The second meaning can be inferred from its literal translation, which is ‘to come to love’. The first word in the idiom, *aşka* consists of the root *aşk* [love, passion] and the directional suffix ‘-a’ [-wards]. *Gelmek* [to come], the second word in the idiom, is an intransitive verb (i.e. its subject and object are the same). Ayşe replaces *gelmek* with the transitive verb *getirmek* [to bring], and her last sentence literally translates as ‘that [the movie] brought me to love’.

According to Lacan, one is brought to love by the Other, as love is always mutual. He asserts that ‘man’s desire is the Other’s desire’ (1999: 4) because one desires the thing (*objet a*) that the Other desires. To put it in simpler terms, ‘as we grow up, our desire models itself on our parents’ desire and on the desire of others around us’ (Fink, 2014b: 55). We are also exposed to the desires of wider society through ‘hegemonic discourses, images, and fantasies ... broadcast all around us’ (Fink, 2014a: 53). ‘The unconscious is overflowing with things we have heard our parents, siblings, friends, teachers, and even actors on television say’ (Fink, 2014b: 21). These usually remain dormant for years in our psyche and present themselves as our own desires much later (Fink, 2014b: 55; Hook, 2018). In fact, the more untraceable the source of one’s desire to others’ desires, the more we take it to be the Other’s desire (i.e. that part of our psyche that stands for society).

Assimilation of others' desires into the Other's desire mystifies the processes through which an object becomes desirable to us. Therefore, when we encounter an object that we find desirable, we cannot understand or explain why we find it so attractive. We say it has an aura, a '*je ne sais quoi* quality' (Hook, 2008a: 5), a certain something that makes it distinctive and tempting. When we encounter such an object, we unconsciously believe that the Other is sending us 'a sign' through one of its mystical intermediaries, be it the cacao (in *Chocolat*), the stars, the psychic, the prophet or TV. We have a gut feeling of having glimpsed the Other's desire, which intrigues, enraptures and brings one to love, like Ayşe on watching *Julie and Julia*. As another example, consider how a TV show incited Seda's desire to become a cook:

I was watching a documentary-like TV show, something about the Michelin starred chefs. And I saw this gentleman. He is interested in food chemistry. And he presents very basic food in new ways. Normally, spaghetti is a plateful. He serves it in smaller, tastier portions, but you don't see the spaghetti when you look at it. Yet, it tastes like spaghetti. I mean, he changes its chemistry and in a different...

– Is it like molecular gastronomy?

Yes. I think it is a type of that. ... The moment I saw it, I said, 'that's very creative and I think that may be the thing that I want to try'. Actually, it was a whim. I just had this passing thought. I later realised that it stayed with me. I liked it. I started buying books. Like, [about] desserts, cookbooks, interesting food cooked in different countries... ... That's how it all began. Trying stuff at home, [I thought] 'this is something pleasurable. Why should I not turn it into a job?' Because I look at my sister [who is a chef] and she is really happy. Like, she gets very tired but doesn't care. It is very enjoyable to do. Firstly, you get full [satisfied] as you do it.³² That happiness of the eye is an exceptional thing.³³ I guess, I then thought this is the job I would be the least bored and tired performing. That's why I wanted to give it a try. Later, it became a passion.

Seda says she was first hooked by the culturified image of culinary work when she watched a TV show about molecular gastronomy. Having seen a chef who masterfully manipulated the chemistry of food to present it in novel ways, she felt she had found the missing object of her desire for creative production.³⁴ As she watched the TV

³² I translate *doymak* as 'getting full'.

³³ Here she says *göz mutluluğu*, which literally translates as 'happiness of the eye'.

³⁴ Molecular gastronomy is now a fading trend and has only been practised in a very small number of elite restaurants since its inception. In this sense, it is far from being representative of the industry.

show, she felt a sudden urge to engage with cookery, which presented itself as a passing thought. Seda realised later that this desire ‘stayed with me’. She started buying cookbooks and trying new recipes at home, unconscious of the fact that she was acting on an urge sparked by the show. Seda also had a role model, her sister, who was happily and successfully pursuing culinary work. In her sister she saw ‘the typical “creative”’ (Conor et al., 2015: 2), who is driven by passion and takes so much pleasure from work that overwork becomes a non-issue. Although the nature of the unconscious and the methodological limitations make it impossible to discern precisely where Seda’s desire to pursue culinary work originated, her account suggests that the TV show, the cookbooks and her sister all shaped it (see Sections 2.3 and 4.3).

Seda felt that she had found her thing, with a ‘*je ne sais quoi* quality’ (Hook, 2008a: 5), when she watched the above-mentioned TV show. It was the lacking object that Seda believed would fulfil her desire. This inference can be drawn from her adoption of the idiomatic expression *göz mutluluğu* [happiness of the eye], which Seda saw as ‘an exceptional thing’ peculiar to culinary work. This expression derives from the Turkish idiom *gözü doymak*, which literally translates as ‘having one’s eye full’ [*gözü*: one’s eye; *doymak*: to be full, as in having a full stomach and/or a satisfied appetite]. In the culinary context, it is often used when there is plenty of delicious-looking food, the sight of which satisfies one’s appetite. Depending on the context, it may also denote modesty or greed (her eye is/is not full). For example, we say *gözün doysun* [‘hope your eye gets full’ or ‘wish your eye were full’] when we believe someone is being greedy and/or should be pleased with what they already have. In the above excerpt, Seda says ‘you get full’ [*doyuyorsunuz*: second-person plural, present tense of *doymak*] as you prepare food, and defines the resulting feeling as *göz mutluluğu* [happiness of the eye]. In short, Seda substitutes ‘full’ with ‘happiness’ in the idiom *gözü doymak*.

This can be interpreted as a condensation of the kind Freud (1920: 14-32) observed in dreams (see Section 4.3). The wish to be full (fully stuffed and/or fully satisfied) and the expectation of being happy (fulfilled, pleased) that will follow are condensed into a single idiomatic expression. This may also be a ‘slippage from one term of reference – unable in itself to fix a given meaning – to another’ (Hook and

However, it has become synonymous with creativity, and has disproportionately and positively affected the image of contemporary culinary work.

Vanheule, 2016: 2), which is how language always operates according to Lacanian psychoanalysis. Either way, it can be deduced that the intended meaning of ‘happiness of the eye’ is fulfilment, which is the state of not lacking (a thing), not being torn apart (between the Symbolic and the Imaginary), and being a unified subject in Lacanian terms. The fact that Seda seeks fulfilment is unsurprising, as the split subject always longs for this (see Cremin, 2009: 138).

The literal translation of this idiomatic expression lends itself to a second interpretation, which is not far removed from the first meaning but opens another door to the unconscious. ‘Happiness of the eye’ suggests that it is one’s eye that is stuffed, full and satisfied during culinary practice. This meaning perfectly captures Lacan’s teaching in his lectures on *jouissance*:

Need I say more to the people present in this room where one is, ultimately, at a restaurant and where one imagines that one is being nourished because one is not at the university cafeteria? One is nourished by the imaginative dimension (Lacan, 1999: 19).

The imaginative dimension is the dimension of images, or the imaginary register *à la* Lacan. He suggests here that the imaginary is our source of ‘nourishment’, enjoyment or ‘partial jouissance’ (Stavrakakis, 2006: 94). As noted earlier in this chapter, the Lacanian subject suffers from a constitutive lack in her psyche, which she yearns to fill. While it is structurally impossible to fully and permanently satisfy this lack, one may find a temporary sense of unity and some sort of satisfaction in identifying with images. Seda’s ‘happiness of the eye’, then, captures the enjoyment she obtains from identifying with images of culinary work as creative and pleasurable. This is how she became hooked on culturified representations of culinary work and post-Fordist discourses of love for one’s job.

The idiomatic expressions *aşka getirdi* [enraptured, brought to love] and *göz mutluluğu* [fulfilment, happiness of the eye] capture how cultural representations of culinary work solicit affective responses from their audience. While the former sheds light on the moment when a subject is moved by a culturified image of culinary work that seems to have a ‘*je ne sais quoi* quality’ (Hook, 2008a: 5), the latter encapsulates the temporary sense of fulfilment obtained from identifying with culinary images. These attest to the role of images in culinary romantic-comedies, TV shows,

cookbooks, etc. in creating in their audience a desire to pursue culinary work, even if they know about its dark side.

The data presented and analysed in this section have shown that the interlocutors were aware of the hardships associated with culinary work before going down this path. They made clear that they had not had unrealistic expectations of the sector and the conditions that it would provide them. Although rosy representations of culinary work did shape their desire to enter and persist in this career path, their effect was not to cloud their thinking or veil the dark side of culinary work, but to somehow make it desirable nevertheless. All of my interlocutors took pride in being able to see beyond the ‘emotional and symbolic sheen’ covering the ‘arduous, tiring and exploitative’ (Gill and Pratt, 2008: 17) work that cooks perform, yet admitted to still being attracted to images such as ‘mushrooms in special tin boxes’, which in the grand scheme of things seem rather insignificant and arbitrary. Yet, as this section has argued, these have a ‘*je ne sais quoi* quality’ (Hook, 2008a: 5), a certain something that is tempting by virtue of appearing to be the object of the Other’s desire. And by the time this encounter with the object takes place, the Other’s desire has been long gestating in the psyche through sedimentation, mixing and moulding of desires to which we are exposed throughout our lives, not least through the media and cultural artefacts.

5.4 Conclusion

Previous research on the creative and cultural industries has argued that ‘society and economy appear to be increasingly enculturalized’ (McRobbie, 2002: 98). Here, ‘enculturalisation’ denotes commodification of culture on the one hand, and ‘growth of the particular industries that produce cultural outputs’ (Gill and Pratt, 2008: 2) on the other. These approaches attribute culturalness to commodified objects and practices as if it were their intrinsic quality. The cultural industries are thought to commodify what is already a cultural activity and/or object. As such, the recent expansion of the cultural industries is dehistoricised and its dynamics misunderstood.

In this chapter, I have shown that culinary production is not cultural in itself, and was not regarded as such until the transition to post-Fordism. Taking my cue from Arjun Appadurai’s pioneering work on the commodity form, I suggest that things exist in cultural form only for ‘a certain *phase* in their careers and in a particular *context*’ (Appadurai, 1986: 16). In other words, the cultural value of objects and practices lies in context-specific social attributes. In addition, I argue that culturification is achieved

through a system of representation that renders certain productive activities cultural, whether these be waged work, small-scale commodity production or unpaid domestic labour. This system consists of discourse, artefacts, architecture and embodied performance. The chapter has demonstrated how these are disseminated, reproduced and rearticulated by local actors who give a peculiar twist to global social, economic, cultural and ideological currents set in motion by the transition to post-Fordism.

Research on the cultural and creative industries attributes post-Fordist growth in these industries to the increased valorisation of creativity (Conor et al., 2015: 2) and ‘the injection of “creative” work into all areas of economic life’ (Gill and Pratt, 2008: 2). This argument is more nuanced than the ‘enculturalisation’ approach mentioned above, in that it suggests that the culturalness of an economic activity is achieved by adding a creative dimension to it. Nevertheless, it still treats creativity as an appendage, a thing in itself that can be attached to other stuff. In this view, the culture/commodity dualism is preserved, and both are attributed an essence: creativity to the former, economic value to the latter. This chapter has challenged this essentialist conceptualisation by showing that culturification of culinary work has been a matter of representational change with ideological import.

In Chapter 2, I explained the post-Fordist argument that immaterial labour, which is the dominant form of production in the creative and cultural industries, sets ‘cultural and artistic standards, fashions, tastes, consumer norms, and, more strategically, public opinion’ (Lazzarato, 1996: 132; see also Mumby, 2016), and hence has immediate ideological effects and unparalleled influence over subject formation. This ideological function is manifested in the culturification of the Turkish culinary sector studied in this chapter. Representation of culinary production as cultural, and of culinary labour as creative and passionate allows cultural and creative industries to subsume, immaterialise and gentrify the culinary sector. It has improved the image of culinary work, from a low-skill, dull, blue-collar job suitable for working-class kids with limited opportunities, to a creative and passionate pursuit desirable for educated middle classes with white-collar job prospects. The chapter has argued that this is part of a post-Fordist shift in ideologies of work. It has shown, for example, that recent culinary romantic-comedies have shunned Fordist institutions, such as the Protestant work ethic, abstinence from consumption and job security, for being disciplinary, while glorifying culinary work and normalising its dark side.

Analysis of interlocutors' reactions to sugar-coated representations of culinary work has revealed that the latter do not deceive their audience and mask the dark side of post-Fordist work, which goes against the dominant view of post-Fordist and psychosocial organisational literatures (see Chapter 2). Their influence over subjectivity results from their ability to elicit affective responses and incite desire in audiences who realise that they do not truthfully reflect the lived experience of culinary work. These audiences lack neither knowledge nor the ability to think rationally, yet still identify with images of 'the creative chef' and a serene and harmonious social existence in culinary work.

I have approached this puzzle by adopting a Lacanian approach, and have interpreted interlocutors' identification with images and discourses of the ethos of love. Their use of the idiomatic expressions *aşka getirdi* [enraptured, brought to love] and *göz mutluluğu* [fulfilment, happiness of the eye] was especially conducive to this effort because they capture how cultural representations of culinary work solicit affective responses from their audience. While the former sheds light on the moment when a subject is moved by a culturified image of culinary work, the latter encapsulates the temporary sense of fulfilment obtained from such identification. They thus reveal the affective and psychic dynamics of being enticed by post-Fordist imagery and discourse.

In summary, this chapter has discussed the culturification of the Turkish culinary industry as part of a post-Fordist transition. This process entails creating a new representational apparatus that raises the status of culinary work, presents it as a creative and passionate occupation, and makes it emotionally appealing to a higher social stratum. It has been argued that this apparatus helps the post-Fordist ethos not only to reach a wider audience, but also to constitute the post-Fordist subjectivity by inciting desire and evoking affect through the use of artefacts, discourses, images, etc. In interpreting the idiomatic expressions employed by interlocutors to describe their reactions to culinary artefacts, the chapter has shown how subjects become attached to the post-Fordist ethos of love.

The chapter has addressed the gap in the post-Fordist literature pertaining to a rigorous empirical study of the post-Fordist ethos. It contributes to the literature by providing an empirical study of the agents, processes and cultural apparatuses that establish its hegemony and of the constitution of subjects who embrace it. The next chapter focuses on reification of the ethos in organisational space and in performances

of organisational subjects. Its main focus is performance of the ethos by cooks as part of their affective labour in the new architectural space of the show kitchen.

Chapter 6: *Sevgisini Katmak* – Performing Love to Produce Affect, and Feeling Ambivalent toward Work

Fäviken is built on things that would never work for any other restaurant. Depending on where you live in the world, you're flying up to Trondheim, Norway and then you're renting a car, and you've gotta check your GPS and you have to drive through Norwegian fjords, and then you find this fairytale world of this giant, sprawling, Swedish hunting lodge and farm with nothing else happening except this 12-seat restaurant. There is a sense that you stumbled on this ancient Nordic hideaway. A version of that, that's been translated through Magnus's imagination and obsessions and passions. And so, before you eat a bite of food, you've gone along for this romantic ride (Adam Sachs on Fäviken, Brian, 2015).

With the growth of the experience economy and the continuous search for new horizons in fine dining, we have reached a point where 'the perfect meal' is understood to be a 'combination of great (and probably novel) culinary sensations together with a healthy dose of theatre/story-telling in what will be a truly immersive multisensory dining experience' (Spence and Piqueras-Fiszman, 2014: 11-2). This leads high-end restaurants to broaden their focus, from producing tasty, high-quality food to 'experience design'. As exemplified above, various elements in the restaurant and its immediate environment are either chosen, shaped or represented in aestheticised ways (Miele and Murdoch, 2002). Such aesthetic production unfolds in superimposed layers of urban planning, architecture, interior design, and the bodies and performances of restaurant workers (Allen, 2002; Chugh and Hancock, 2009: 461; Elias et al., 2017). High-end restaurants, in particular, strive to create aesthetically pleasing spaces (Miele and Murdoch, 2002), recruit employees who 'look good and sound right' (Warhurst and Nickson, cited in Elias et al., 2017: 35) and engineer mood-enhancing social interactions in order to induce 'a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement, passion' (Hardt, 1999: 96) in patrons. In other words, they aim to produce and modulate affect in order to increase custom and establish a good reputation.

The quotation above captures a crucial element of this affective production, one that cannot be explained by the expertise and conscious efforts put into 'experience design'. It suggests that world-renowned restaurant, Fäviken is an interpretation of a Nordic 'fairytale' by chef and owner, Magnus Nilsson through his prism of 'imagination and obsessions and passions'. Restaurants, like other artefacts, are products of unconscious beliefs and desires, the locus of which is the psyche. The psyche informs how we shape the material world, and provides the unconscious

surface upon which we construct psychosocial relations. Production, transmission and consumption of affect take place upon this psychic ground. Nevertheless, the Spinozist approach to affective labour completely ignores the role of the unconscious (see Section 2.2). This chapter addresses this gap through a psychoanalytical interpretation of the research findings.

As psychoanalysis shows, the psyche is not enclosed within the physiological body, but is present in all aspects of our lives (Hook, 2018: 135). It enmeshes the individual with the social, the discursive with the affective, and the abstract (desire/thought) with the concrete (body/matter). For example, we assimilate others' characteristics through (imaginary) identification when we love them (Freud, 1915: 132); we somatise thoughts that we cannot put into words (Breuer and Freud, 1981; Copjec, 2002: 235); we develop obsessive behaviours in response to psychic conflicts, which in turn shape our material environment (Freud, 1909); and we refrain from touching taboo objects or people, fearing the affects of such contact (Freud, 2003: 54).

This chapter explores three phenomena based on these theoretical insights: first, how the show kitchen mediates the psychosocial relationship between cooks and diners as a post-Fordist image; second, how cooks perform love as part of their role in the show kitchen in order to produce affect; and third, cooks' self-sacrificial attitude and ambivalent affective disposition toward the jobs they perform with love.

Section 6.1 examines how cooks perform creativity and passion in the show kitchen, drawing on Judith Butler's (1988, 2010) theory of performativity. In Section 6.2, I turn to the production of affect through these performances, and affective transmission between chefs and diners. These are studied by deploying Lacanian theory to interpret the culinary idioms *sevgisini katmak* [adding/pouring/blending in one's love] and *elinin tadi* [the taste of your hand]. Section 6.3 discusses chefs' self-sacrificial attitudes toward work, which result in emotional and physical pain. This is accomplished by analysing the unconscious meaning and performative effects of the idioms *meslek bulaştı* [you have been contaminated with the trade], *meslek girdi* [the trade has intruded] and *ustalık girdi* [craftsmanship intruded/penetrated]. Finally, I consider the ambivalence (Freud, 1909, 1915, 1950, 2003; Lacan, 1998; Troha, 2017) of chefs' affective dispositions toward culinary work resulting from the pain and pleasure they experience while performing their jobs. I argue that chefs' attachment to culinary work is riddled with psychic conflict, and that untangling these deepens our understanding of the post-Fordist affective regime.

6.1 The show kitchen: image, embodiment and performance



Figure 15: Show kitchen at River Cottage, Bristol, UK³⁵

Figure 15 captures a typical show kitchen. On the left is an authentic pizza oven. It is hardly used during the busy lunchtime, which suggests that it is primarily for decorative purposes. A younger member of staff, probably a steward, frequently emerges with supplies from the corridors on either side. The two cooks in the picture spend most of their time plating. Although they are very focused while decorating the dishes, they occasionally also browse the dining room. When one of them notices my careful observation, he reciprocates with a smile. They seem confident and used to curious diners. Like stage performers, the chefs in the show kitchen are comfortable with their audience.

As the name suggests, the show kitchen is usually the showcase of the restaurant and is backed up by a closed ‘prep kitchen’, onsite or in a separate location. The initial food preparation (cutting meat and poultry, boning fish, shelling, skinning, boiling,

³⁵ For reasons of anonymity, I prefer not to use pictures from the organisations that I researched in Turkey. This picture was taken with the permission of service staff on duty on 18 June 2018.

etc.) is carried out backstage, while most dishes are ‘finished’³⁶ in the show kitchen. This removes from sight the unpleasant face of culinary work, which can be messy, smelly, boring, and even dangerous. The show kitchen is reserved for eye-catching and/or aesthetically pleasing tasks, such as preparation of appetizers, salads and pizzas, plating and flambés³⁷. Chefs are commonly seen skilfully moving their arms as they slide pizzas swiftly in and out of the wood-fired oven, carefully placing small edible flowers on the plate, or shaking a large pan as it bursts into flames.

The show kitchen has become increasingly popular in Turkey and around the world in the last decade (see Tuttle, 2012). I was able to conduct participant observation at two of Istanbul’s high-end restaurants with show kitchens, as well as interviewing chefs, restaurant managers and culinary-school students about their experiences of show kitchens as both producers and consumers. Based on these data, this section explores the materialisation of love for one’s job and its relationship with affective labour in the fine-dining sector.

The show kitchen is aimed at building a bridge between the patrons and cooks, and the thing that it produces. As I said before, yes, things happen out there [in the dining room] while you work in the show kitchen, and often you can’t lift your head up to have a look. But the motivation there gives you a direction.³⁸ Also, the kitchen is a place where there are noises, colours, heat, smell, and for someone who is watching it from outside, it can be enticing because they are not in it. Ignition of a pan, for example... Or, I don’t know how appetising it is right now, but there is a tripe soup smell. That smell reaches the person before the plate arrives at the table. Or decorating with garnish while plating at the end of dish preparation can change the appearance of food. You can communicate with the customer through a dish.

In the above excerpt, Batu, a male educated chef in his early thirties employed at the prep kitchen I researched, talks about forming a connection between chef and patron through the show kitchen. He emphasises that the chef does not always have time to gaze around at the dining room, let alone have a meaningful conversation with patrons while working in this space, so the connection is not established through ‘communicative labour’ (Mumby, 2016), as previous post-Fordist organisational

³⁶ Finishing a dish means cooking it for up to 15 minutes, heating it or plating it. It is the final activity in preparing a dish and making it ready for service.

³⁷ Flambé is a cooking technique in which food is ignited by pouring an alcoholic beverage into a hot pan to create a dramatic affect and rich flavour.

³⁸ I translate the word *yönlendiriyor* as ‘gives a direction’. It also translates as steers, guides or directs (a conversation, a vehicle, someone, oneself, etc.) toward a course or a course of action.

research suggests. Nor is it a pre-cognitive product, an intensity that almost automatically emerges from a physical encounter, as Spinozist scholars of affect argue (for example, see Ashcraft, 2017; Keevers and Sykes, 2016; Vachhani, 2013). To explain its nature, Batu mentions being motivated by the presence of patrons, and indicates that the thought of patrons being enticed by the show kitchen energises him.

It is worth thinking of Batu's description of the show kitchen through the Lacanian concept of image (*imago*). Image refers to a representation consisting of 'visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, or other' (Fink, 2014a: 27) stimuli which feeds into the imaginary register of the psyche. It gives partial enjoyment as an object of drive, and promises subjects fulfilment (also see Sections 2.3, 4.3 and 5.3). This is how it attracts people. Batu's description of 'the show kitchen' fits this definition: 'the kitchen is a place where there are noises, colours, heat, smell, and for someone who is watching it from outside, it can be enticing'. His comments suggest that the show kitchen is an enticing image for him, that he imagines that the patrons are also attracted to it, and that the connection he feels with the patrons is based on this imagination. In other words, Batu's relationship with the patrons is mediated through the show kitchen, which is registered in the imaginary realm of the psyche. Therefore, the affects he experiences are a product of his meeting with the patrons on the unconscious plane.

At the heart of the show kitchen is the chef who, in Batu's words, is 'the face of that [restaurant] kitchen'. This was strikingly evident when I attended a joint staff meeting at the restaurant chain I was researching. It was organised after-hours in a branch with a show kitchen. On the agenda were the final preparations for launching a new menu, a taster of which was cooked by the hosting branch's staff for colleagues and bosses during our visit. Having spent the day in the prep kitchen, I was struck by the upbeat mood in this restaurant and the physical appearance of its staff. As a team, they were all young, sporty and eye-catching. Their funky hairstyles and tattoos, in particular, set them apart from most of their colleagues in the prep kitchen. They had an air of confidence, looked in command of the task at hand and seemed to be enjoying it. The lighting in the kitchen accentuated the stations where they were working in a certain rhythm. All these factors created a bustling atmosphere, in contrast to the highly routine and industrial feel of the prep kitchen, with its dull steel stations, fluorescent lights and chefs who seemed less invested in their looks.

The reification of the contemporary ideals of fine dining in the show kitchen and the staff's embodiment of the modern culinary ethos are products of both conscious efforts and unconscious deeds. For example, see how Batu accounts for his self-stylisation:

First of all, there is this perception... Who is the chef, cook in a [professional] kitchen? They are old and bald guys, aren't they?³⁹ They [the patrons] find me in front of them with piercings, beard, and they get really surprised when they see that different people can do this job. For example, my first trainee introduces me to his family, 'we thought you were an oldster', and I am wearing shorts... You change that perception too. That's nice.

Here, Batu differentiates and distances himself from the stereotypical, old-fashioned cook as middle-aged and physically unattractive. Rather, he sees himself as the embodiment of a new type of chef: young, cool and somewhat rebellious (see also Section 5.1). The piercings, tattoos and hairstyles are testament to the creativity, unconventional style, and youthfulness of these new chefs. One is reminded of the late Anthony Bourdain when around such cooks, not because of a physical resemblance but because of how they perform 'the bad boy chef'.

The 'bad boy chef' is a cultural trope and social type of which Bourdain is considered to have been the vanguard. A commentator accurately defines it as a 'muscular and irreverent approach to food – and life ... It's meant to invoke a salacious and unprintable past, a lusty defiance of social norms in service to the bottomless appetites of great talent' (Silverbush, 2018). Batu is a good example. He occasionally makes dramatic gestures of defiance, such as storming out of the restaurant in the middle of a shift because he feels bossed around. He responds to his colleague telling him what to do: 'I'll boil you in this pot if you speak to me in the imperative mood again.' Criticism of the government with strong language, explicit jokes and subtle flirtation with colleagues are treated as normal coming from him. He self-identifies as an anarchist and sees cooking as a means for self-expression. He says he is unorthodox in the way he organises his station, strictly anti-authoritarian in his relationships with colleagues, and unfavourable toward business suits. His work station is at the rear end of the kitchen, where he often plays rock and rap music, sometimes singing and dancing along. He experiments with new recipes as much as

³⁹ I translate the Turkish expression *kelli felli* as 'old and bald'. It refers to middle-aged men who had lost hair and put on weight as they aged.

he can, and asks colleagues to taste them. He carefully decorates the trial dishes that will only be seen by co-workers, and actively seeks opportunities to demonstrate his passion to patrons and establish connections with them:

There was, of course, a menu where I worked, and I had special clients. There were the ones who came only to eat my food. My boss, bless him, would allow this. He would send me to their table. I would go to my clients and ask, ‘What would you like to eat? What do you feel like today?’ I would put the menu aside and they would tell me what they fancied. I would go and cook it. That was also very enjoyable.

– Yes, that sounds very nice.

That would totally fulfil you. Or, say, the kitchen would close at around 10.30 pm. I would keep it open just for them. [I would say] ‘come here, let’s do it together’. That stuff was real fun, the pleasurable part of the job.

This is a rather extraordinary example of bespoke service, yet it is an ideal type of ‘show kitchen’. Batu goes the extra mile to provide a highly personalised service, and makes self-sacrifices to do so. He works extra hours, cooks whatever the customers want, and establishes intimate relationships as if he were their private chef and friend, thereby demonstrating that he loves his job and is creative. This bespoke service reportedly creates a loyal customer base and increases repeat custom, which must be profitable for the restaurant; yet he talks about being ‘allowed’ by his boss to do all these things, and is grateful for that opportunity. To him, this is ‘the pleasurable part of the job’ that ‘would totally fulfil you’. It can be interpreted as his being affectively remunerated for his efforts through enhancing his mood and the connections he forms with others (for a discussion of affective remuneration, see Section 7.2).

Batu embodies the image of a masculine, nonconformist, creative and passionate chef with his stylised physical appearance and demeanour. On the one hand, he conforms to norms pertaining to expressions of gender identity, class position, etc. On the other, he performs his identification with the modern image of a chef, as well as his attachment to the post-Fordist ethos of love. These exemplify the performativity intrinsic to affective labour, as discussed in Section 2.2.

We can explain his performative engagement with work through Butler’s theory of performativity. Butler argues that embodiment and performance are not expressions of the subject’s pre-existing self but are constitutive of the subject. She positions her theory as a critique of approaches to performance and performative labour, the point

of departure for which is an authentic self that may be given expression in or be masked by consciously tailored acts (for example, see Bryman, 2004; Kelan, 2009; Madison, 2005). According to Butler, who follows Lacanian and postmodernist thought, the (split) subject does not have such an essence or substance but an abyss at its core (Kenny et.al., 2018: 2). Furthermore, the subject cannot forge an identity owing to a lack of substance to which the identity would be identical in the first place (Stavrakakis, 1999), and therefore forms temporary identifications, adopts social roles and embodies idealised images, or ego ideals.

On the other hand, the images and social positions with which the subject identifies are shaped by social norms (see Kenny et.al., 2018: 4). While socially sanctioned performances are rewarded with social recognition and acceptance, transgression is punished by society (Butler, 1988; Kenny, 2010: 859; Kenny et al., 2018: 5). Therefore, the subject tries, both consciously and unconsciously, to meet social expectations through ‘stylization of the body’ and ‘stylized repetition of acts’ (Butler, 1988: 519).

Performance, then, is a never-ending process of subject formation, taking place under the watchful eye of society and the Other which is its psychic representative. That is to say, one becomes, is formed or is constituted through performance (see Section 2.1). The implication of these theoretical insights is that performance of masculinity, nonconformity, creativity, love, etc. is the process through which Batu is constituted as a subject oriented toward an idealised cultural image, and toward the subject position socially carved for someone with these characteristics.

Chefs actively fashion their looks and demeanour according to contemporary culinary norms, and try to embody the image of a creative, passionate chef, while restaurants seek out those who come closest to this idealised image, especially when recruiting for the show kitchen. Some job adverts openly list love for culinary work, good customer relations, foreign language skills, etc. above culinary work experience. Others’ unconscious preferences are evident in their recent recruitment strategies. There has been a systematic replacement of old-school, self-trained cooks from rural or working-class backgrounds with educated cooks from urban middle-class backgrounds who ‘look good and sound right’ (Warhurst and Nickson, cited in Elias et al., 2017: 35). This can be observed from the outside, especially when looking at their show kitchens as stated above, but is also noticed by employees. Erol is a self-

trained cook in his mid-thirties employed by a five-star hotel chain in Istanbul. He told me about the transformation at one of the chain's restaurants:

First of all, there are more women [than men] in that restaurant. Before, it was not like that. *Bolulu* [from Bolu] masters were larger in numbers. There were many old *Bolulus*. There were those whom we call *Koca Usta* [Grand Master].⁴⁰ Now, there has been a restructuring and their kitchen has changed; there was repair and alteration.⁴¹ First of all, none of those masters are in the show kitchen. They [management] have locked them up.⁴² They have put them on the back burner, and they are mostly [assigned] legwork... They are now applying a sickening policy to those [cooks] in order to change it.

– The staff?

In order to change the composition of the staff... Because, they [the company] will have to pay high amounts of severance if they fire them. This is their current policy. Outside [in the show kitchen] are mostly the young and the educated. ... there are young people in their twenties. Half of them are women, half of them are men. But I don't know whether this is an intended outcome of employment strategy. The *Bolulu* masters were in the backstage when I went there [for a temporary replacement]. Back in the day, they were very ferocious, and they would give you a hard time. Now, they have exchanged roles in that kitchen.

– When you say 'back in the day'... How many years did it take to make this transformation?

The previous [executive] chef tried to make this transformation in two years. He couldn't. There has been a new [executive] chef in his place for a year now. It should be the product of three years' effort, I don't know. I mean, they have tried hard for three years.

Erol's experience attests to a shift in recruitment preferences at high-end restaurants for educated cooks rather than self-trained ones. The reasons for this shift are complex, as I discuss throughout this thesis (for example see Sections 3.4, 5.3 and 7.1). Erol's comments are important, in that they underline the simultaneity of the architectural restructuring of the restaurant, when a show kitchen was installed, and the creation of a hostile environment for self-trained cooks. Erol claims that once the show kitchen was in place, self-trained cooks were 'locked up', 'put on the back burner' and

⁴⁰ In keeping with the traditional methods of promotion and the rank system, *Koca Usta* [Grand Master] refers to both age and experience.

⁴¹ They had refurbished the restaurant and introduced a show kitchen.

⁴² The restaurant has a main, closed kitchen where, Erol says, these self-trained cooks now work.

assigned ‘legwork’. None of them were given roles in the show kitchen. Instead, there were new recruits, educated cooks in their twenties, most of whom were female. In other words, the old male, self-trained cooks did not fit the show-kitchen image that this restaurant aimed to produce in refurbishing and re-staffing.

Selectiveness in recruiting for the show kitchen is a common phenomenon across the sector. For example, Deniz, a female chef in her late twenties, said:

At [restaurant name], I worked in the breakfast section at the beginning. I was working face-to-face with the guests at the breakfast buffet. There was an omelette counter outside [in the dining room] where you prepare it [omelette] together with the guest. They [management] prefer a lady, and one with foreign language skills [at the breakfast buffet] because there are many foreign guests. We attended so many training sessions at [restaurant name]. We were like training, training, training all the time. And these are irrelevant to cuisine. [They are] training sessions on guest relations. They [management] are really concerned about it – about [the cook at the buffet] being a lady and presentable... And they generally assign ladies among the newly-arrived trainers to the buffet, outside.

Judging by Deniz’s description, this buffet is a show kitchen allowing patrons to engage with the cooks and receive bespoke service. Its recruitment of young, female, educated, foreign language-speaking cooks for this role gives an indication of the image that the restaurant is aiming to create. A ‘presentable’ look, a lady-like attitude and a hospitable demeanour are all related to stylisation of appearance and actions. Incessant training to perfect these qualities reveals managers’ (unconscious) knowledge of their performative nature. While this organisation’s management seems quite prescriptive, some organisations encourage and reward such performance without offering any formal training or instruction.

As in other areas of social life, performance of identifications at work is often regulated by unspoken rules and unconscious mechanisms (Butler, 1988, 2010). For example, a manager in the restaurant chain that I researched claimed that it did not particularly recruit female or educated cooks; yet only one of its staff was an old-school, self-trained cook, and he was also the only cook over 40 years of age, whereas the great majority of staff consisted of female, educated cooks below the age of 35, including the head chef. Previous studies have also shown that organisations capitalise on the performance of social attributes such as gender, class and ethnicity, as well as professional attributes such as creativity and passion, in order to produce mood

enhancing, affective goods (see Section 2.2; Brown, 2017; Hochschild, 1983). From architectural design to employment, various managerial decisions are made in order to recruit the most affectively-productive staff and provide them with a platform for affective engagement with clients. The show kitchen epitomises this effort, as demonstrated in this section.

So far, based on interview data and participant observation, I have discussed how the show kitchen presents an image of high-end contemporary culinary production, and how chefs occupy centre stage in this image. I have suggested that the former materialise contemporary fantasies of culinary work, while the latter embody them. I have argued that the show kitchen, as an image, entices cooks who are motivated by a desire to become the object of patrons' desire. They embody their identification with the creative, passionate (and nonconformist) chef to fulfil their role in the show kitchen. Their performative engagement with work increases their employability and gives them an advantage over old-school, self-trained cooks whose appearance and demeanour are deemed unfit for the show kitchen. In the next section, I explore how performance of passion produces and transmits affect to patrons, by interpreting use of the idioms *sevgisini katmak* [adding/pouring/blending in one's love] and *elinin tadı* [the taste of your hand] in the context of culinary work.

6.2 Add a little 'taste of your hand' and 'blend with love': the affective labour mix

Because it is so popular, people have developed so much interest in gastronomy, there are many questions as a result. Interest... Because you are curious, you want to ask [questions]. You can ask the head waiter too, but asking [the chef] about the subtleties of something you are curious about, as s/he does it, probably makes it much easier to explain. And this gives rise to a very strong connection. It makes the person [patron] stay much more enthusiastic, content.

Osman, an award-winning male chef in his late thirties, underlines that today's patrons are inquisitive, observant and keen to engage closely with the chef as a result of the development of connoisseurship (see also Section 5.1). As demonstrated in the previous section, the show kitchen is a response to this increased interest in culinary production. It enables patrons to observe and engage with the chef. This produces 'a strong connection' between the producer and consumer of culinary goods. In Osman's words, the patrons are 'enthused' by and 'content' with the interaction. This

enhancement in consumers' mood is called 'production of affect' (Hardt, 1999: 89) or 'affective production' (Hardt, 1999: 96; see also Section 2.2).

With the addition of show kitchens to restaurants, and demand from chefs to interact with diners (by doing the rounds, for instance), cheffing has acquired affective features of in-person service jobs such as flight attendance (Hochschild, 1983), healthcare (Ducey, 2007) and fashion modelling (Wissinger, 2007). This is evident in a description by Özlem, a female educated patisserie chef in her early thirties, of her experience in the show kitchen:

For instance, at [restaurant name] everything was prepared *à la minute*⁴³. It was a fine-dining restaurant. And then everyone [the patrons] could see us. They would say 'good luck'⁴⁴ as they passed by or stopped to chat. They would ask 'what is in this, what is in that?', stuff like that. Or they would come and watch the pizza-making process or how I prepared the desserts. And then these things made a great contribution to the restaurant.

As Özlem suggests, chefs need to communicate with and/or put on a show for the diners in order to create 'a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement, passion' (Hardt, 1999: 96). As such, their responsibility has extended from producing food (a tangible commodity) to producing both food and pleasure (an intangible commodity). Özlem emphasises that these pleasurable interactions make a significant contribution to consumer satisfaction and the resulting profit.

Previous research has shown that affective production is the backbone of services and an important source of economic value for most service-sector organisations (see Section 2.2; Dowling, 2007, 2016; Ducey, 2007; Hardt, 1999; Weeks, 2007; Wissinger, 2007). Nevertheless, not all forms of interaction produce positive affect, as Tezer warned based on her experience as a diner. In her early thirties, she is owner and manager of an upscale café in Istanbul, and occasionally dines at high-end restaurants:

Sitting at a table with a view of the [show] kitchen and observing is the thing that I like most. But of course I am not talking about very big kitchens. In small kitchens, where it is evident that they perform their jobs with love, show care for the dish, seeing them decorate [the plate] with a plant using tweezers and

⁴³ Preparing food to order, not in advance.

⁴⁴ I translate the Turkish expression *kolay gelsin* as 'good luck'. This is often said to people who are in the process of working, in order to thank them for their services, give them encouragement and show appreciation, recognition or gratitude, depending on the context.

all really makes me... To see that it is prepared meticulously... On the other hand, observing the kitchen of a regular restaurant would not make me that much... Someone grilling stuff like crazy, another serving *pilaf*[rice], that may not be that much... It may not give you a nice feeling, I don't know. But I like to see those people's meticulousness. When you see them adding value to what you eat, it is like you are already favourably disposed toward them.⁴⁵

Here, Tezer explains that what patrons see through the show kitchen is at least as important as actually having a show kitchen in producing positive affects. To convey her point, she compares two types of restaurant: a busy eatery where food is mass-produced and served in conveyor-belt fashion, and a small, high-end restaurant where every dish is prepared through a labour-intensive process and decorated meticulously. The former, she says, may not be very pleasant to watch, while the latter is a great source of pleasure to her. The difference lies particularly in the love, care and meticulousness demonstrated by chefs in the show kitchen. Decorating the plate using tweezers, for example, is considered a sign of 'care'. Precision, concentration and seeming to apply oneself fully to the task are understood as signs of love. Tezer is moved by the sight of such affective investment in the job, and the love and care for it. In Lacanian terms, a 'sign is capable of arousing desire' (Lacan, 1999: 50) because we figure it is produced by a fellow subject of desire. We are intrigued by the subject who must be behind the sign, and 'therein lies the mainspring of love' (Lacan, 1999: 50).

Seeming to love one's job is indeed a crucial part of chefs' affective labour, as Seda explained:

He [shows you] how lovingly he prepared it, knows the temperature [at which it is cooked]. When he explains 'this comes from the back, the waist, the legs of the animal' you think 'he explains this to so many people, yet his enthusiasm and smile are still intact'. I mean, you begin admiring the chef. The way he cooks, his happiness... I can't say it is erotic love, but a connection is, nevertheless, established because he performs with love and feeds you. There is a really emotional connection there that we may call romantic. You would know the saying 'I blended my love in it'. He puts love [in the dish] and you eat it.

⁴⁵ I translate *artıdan başlatıyorsun* as 'you are already favourably disposed toward them'. It literally translates as 'you give them an extra point from the get-go', which means she begins to appreciate the food before it reaches the table.

Seda interprets the cook's enthusiasm for sharing his knowledge, and his patience with the patrons, despite performing highly repetitive and intense work, as well as the pleasure he seems to take from it (discerned from his smile), as signs of love for his job. Such embodied performance of passion makes her admire the chef and form an intimate connection with him. The desire he incites is so strong that she compares her connection with the chef to romantic/erotic love, and describes the dining experience as being fed love.

Seda adopts the idiomatic expression *sevgisini katmak* [performing with love, adding/pouring/blending in one's love] to express the enjoyment she gets from seeing the chef perform his passion. This expression implies that cooking with love, care and enthusiasm, and a will to please others and/or for a loved one produce better taste. The unconscious meaning, which we can discern from its literal translation, is 'adding/pouring/blending in one's love', as if love existed in a physical form like any other cooking ingredient and can be added to the mix for better taste. This second meaning captures the transmission of affect between the person who cooks something lovingly and the person who consumes it (see Borch, 2009; Fotaki et al., 2017: 6). It emphasises the embodied sense of pleasure, the psychosomatic impact of being loved and cared for. However, in the above example, Seda slightly changes the meaning of the idiom. To her, the object of the chef's passion and enjoyment is not herself (the patron) but his job, and that is precisely why Seda finds him so attractive.

In the previous section, I approached the affectively-charged image of the show kitchen from the chef's side. I argued that s/he embodies idealised images of a modern chef as creative and passionate through 'stylized repetition of acts' and a 'stylization of the body' (Butler, 1988: 519). S/he aims to become part of the show kitchen, which is an image that s/he believes will incite patrons' desire, through such embodied performances. Seda's experience allows us to view the show kitchen through the patron's experience. It suggests that the patron is attracted to it because it appears to be desired and enjoyed by the chef. This confirms that the relationship between chef and patron is mediated by the image that is the show kitchen. In other words, the show kitchen establishes an unconscious relationship between the two parties by inciting their desire for the Other's object of desire.

The Turkish culinary idiom *elinin tadı* [the taste of your hand] captures the affective transmission between the producers and consumers of food who are involved in this unconscious play of desire. It refers to an idiosyncratic flavour that only a

person with culinary talent can create. It is a subjective and idiosyncratic surplus of one's culinary labour. Some also suggest that it is a product of love, and that the food prepared by their care providers (usually grandmother, mother, aunt) has this peculiar flavour. Recently, it has become popular in discourses on professional cooking. For example, Ahmet, a self-trained patisserie chef and culinary-school instructor, employed it as follows:

You need to fully focus on what you are producing with all that you have. Love... You know they say *el tadı* [taste of the hand] – for that *el tadı* you have to give it your soul. And what you receive from the customer, the satisfaction, has to incredibly affect you. That, that is why you need to... I think that's what distinguishes people.

Ahmet claims that *elinin tadı* emerges when chefs perform their job with love and deep affective investment and enjoy the pleasure that the diners gain from consuming the product of their work. The literal translation of the idiom suggests that one actually transmits a part of one's body while handling the food, which is then transmitted to the diner. The other's flesh is supposed to have an outstanding taste that significantly improves that of the food. In other words, the unconscious meaning of *elinin tadı* is enjoyment of the other's body. Nevertheless, according to Lacan, there is no pre-symbolic or non-symbolic enjoyment of the body. When one believes one is enjoying another's body, one is actually enjoying *objet a*, the object cause of desire that is supposed to rest behind the image. In Lacan's words, 'what lies under the habit [clothes], what we call the body, is perhaps but the remainder (*reste*) I call object a' (1999: 6), *objet a* being the enigmatic object of the Other's desire. That is to say, what seems to be a dyadic relationship of love between two subjects in the imaginary sphere is always already triadic, since love is always for the Other (see Hook, 2018; Lacan, 1998).

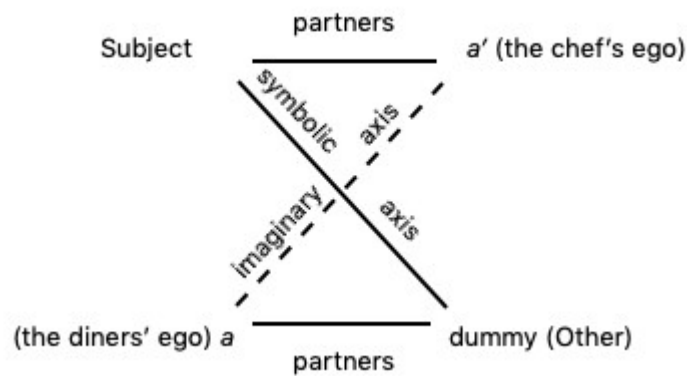


Figure 16: The show kitchen in Lacan's L diagram

In Chapter 4, I discussed at some length how desire emanates from splitting of the subject by language (see Section 4.3). Lacan argues that language introduces a 'primal repression' (Lacan, 1998: 236) of desire, a prohibition that separates two subjects represented for one another in language. First, a lack appears in the distance between them, 'between the dyad of signifiers' (Lacan, 1998: 236). This lack is later bridged by *objet a*, 'the desire of the Other' (Lacan, 1998: 236), which is embedded in language. The repressed object is substituted by numerous others as the language flows. When the object of desire is so far removed from the one originally suppressed that its origin can no longer be traced back, desire is sublimated and turned into love (Freud, 1915: 137).

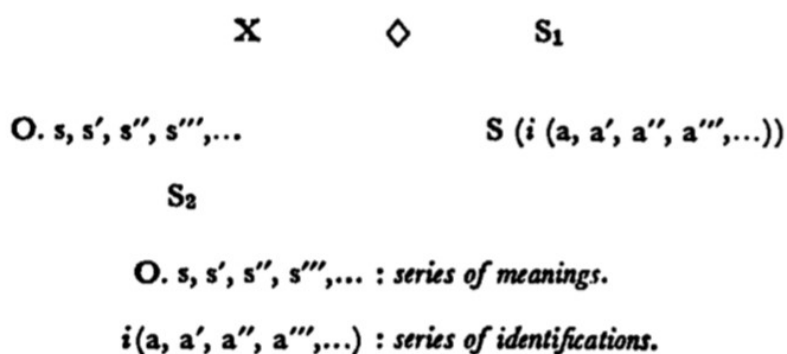


Figure 17: Movement of the signifying chain and identification

Source: Lacan (1998: 238)

Thus, love is addressed to the Other, not to another subject as it may appear in the imaginary realm (Lacan, 1999: 6). This relationship is with the socio-symbolic, with its norms, prohibitions and commandments, as exemplified in Ahmet's further comments on *elinin tadi*.

The logic is to see your job not as work but as a calling and doing it to make the other party happy. ... *Elinin tadı* is about the person doing it. The more that person gives of themselves to their job, the more they are concentrated, the more they do the job to add to the people's taste and make them happy, the more taste of the hand is transmitted.

Here, Ahmet talks about *elinin tadı* as a product of chefs' devotion to their work. This devotion is motivated by a desire to make diners happy, and is only seen in chefs who engage with their job as a calling. Calling comes not from within the dyadic relationship between diner and chef, but from 'God': 'God (Dieu) is the locus where, if you will allow me this wordplay, the dieu [god] – the dieur – the dire [saying], is produced' (Lacan, 1999: 45). That is to say, language produces an authority figure (the Other) in the psyche, which conveys the social expectations we experience as an inner calling (Fink, 2004: 7). In the example above, production and transmission of affect, of 'taste of the hand', depends on the chef's response to the Other's call to 'love your job'. Only if chefs internalise and act on this ideological interpellation, 'give of themselves to their job', can they produce and transmit affect. This leads to a discussion, in the next section, of self-sacrifice for the love of culinary work.

In this section, I have argued that chefs' performance in the show kitchen produces positive affects. They enhance the diners' mood and increase the pleasure they gain from the dining experience. This makes a significant contribution to restaurants' success, and is thus economically valuable.

I have also argued that not all sights in the kitchen are affectively productive. For a show kitchen to produce the intended result, it must be aesthetically pleasing and, most crucially, the chefs must demonstrate their love for the culinary work that they perform. As my examples have shown, chefs must embody the image of someone who is passionate about culinary work. Diners infer this from their knowledge, patience, meticulousness, happiness and willingness to engage with them. For example, observing such a performance led Seda to evoke the culinary expression *sevgisini katmak* [adding/pouring/blending in one's love]. My interpretation of this idiom and Seda's use of it point to the creation of an unconscious connection between chef and diner, mediated by an image which is the show kitchen.

Lastly, I have argued that affective transmission between the parties is mediated not only by the imaginary, but also by the symbolic, based on the interpretation of another culinary expression, 'the taste of your hand'. Drawing on Lacan's insights on

affect, desire and love, I have argued that one does not have immediate access to the body; that body is animated and charged with libido by language. My interlocutors' references to one's job as a calling and love for one's job as inciting desire show that the image's appeal lies in its elevation to the status of object cause of desire in language, i.e. the sphere of the Other.

In short, this section has focused on the unconscious dynamics of producing a dining experience that is pleasurable to both chef and diner. The next section approaches loving devotion to one's job from the angle of its effects on workers' rights and wellbeing. In critically evaluating chefs' self-sacrificial attitudes toward work, I shed light on the dark side of the ethos of love, which is excluded from its cultural representations. This is followed by an exploration of chefs' emotional ambivalence toward work, i.e. the conflicting thoughts and affects they harbour. I adopt Freud's (1909, 1915, 1950, 2003) conceptualisation of the psychoanalytical term 'ambivalence' to comprehend these psychic conflicts and offer a deeper understanding of loving one's job.

6.3 'You have been contaminated with the trade': self-sacrificial labour and ambivalence toward work

*Doubt thou the stars are fire;
Doubt that the sun doth move;
Doubt truth to be a liar;
But never doubt I love.*

Shakespeare (cited in Freud, 1909: 241)

During my participant observation at the restaurant kitchen, I spent most of my time skinning, boning, shelling, rinsing, chopping, etc. These are the most routine, arduous and least skilled tasks, reserved for those at the bottom of the culinary hierarchy – the trainees, stewards and commis chefs. Although I probably 'butchered' the first few batches of vegetables with which I was trusted, my skills developed gradually with practice; at least, that is what I was told. Prep kitchen work was fairly standardised, highly repetitive and evenly spread out over the work day. As I got used to the routine, the excitement of working in a professional kitchen and awareness of doing research began to wear off. My research diary reads:

I was very enthusiastic when I first arrived. I threw myself at any work sent my way with a zest for learning. Right now, I feel some weariness. Constantly doing routine work is boring. This job is a bit like factory work.

Apart from the occasional drama unfolding among the staff and Batu's sporadic music sessions, there was little to keep me enthused.

One day in my second week, while chopping many kilogrammes of green almonds in a dissociative state, the razor-sharp professional knife in my hand missed its target by a few millimetres. Blood began to run down my finger almost before I felt the pain and realised what had happened. Aslı came running with a first-aid kit, and rinsed and dried my finger. As she was putting on a sticking plaster, Rıza (the middle-aged steward) saw us and asked: 'What happened? *Uсталık mı girdi?* [Were you contaminated with/intruded by craftsmanship?]' I proudly and cheerfully responded: 'Yes! At last!'

The first injury is a precursor to many more throughout a cook's professional life. When working with sharp objects, heavy containers, hot food and equipment, liquids that frequently spill on the ground, limited space and a race against time, accidents of various sorts are inevitable. Cooks know and accept this as a natural, intrinsic part of their work; in fact, they take pride in not just surviving but thriving in such an environment, i.e. in their endurance (Fine, 2008: 70). Therefore, getting injured and being cool about it is absolutely crucial in gaining seasoned chefs' recognition. *Uсталık girdi* [the craftsmanship intruded] – and the alternative versions *meslek bulaştı*, *meslek girdi* – are culinary idioms used especially by *Bolulu* cooks when trainee or commis chefs have their first occupational accident, marking their initiation into culinary work. The idiom brackets the first occupational accident and attributes a symbolic meaning to it. Like 'very painful physical trials' in initiation ceremonies that symbolise 'an irremediable loss' (Clastres, 2010: 136) of happiness, the first occupational accident symbolises entry into the physically and mentally challenging profession of cooking. That is why I exclaimed 'Yes! At last!' when Rıza used the idiom. I took it as an indication of gaining recognition as a member of the kitchen crew, and thus 'going native' as an ethnographer. Had it come from one of the experienced cooks or a more established team member, I would have been more confident of my achievement:

Remember I told you about [chef's name]? When I first started to work at [restaurant name], [restaurant name] was my first employer after the training, he did... I never forget that. 'Your wrists'... It was wintertime; I was wearing a pullover. He said, 'open your wrists!' I rolled my sleeves up, like this, showed him my wrists. This is my first burn and at the time it was new. My wrist stuck to the pan while I was pan-frying. Of course, we first talked, and then I opened my wrists and he saw this. He reached out his hand [for a handshake] and said: 'good luck'. This is how I began. We have a saying: they say '*meslek bulaştı*' [you have been contaminated with the trade] when you are burned or so.

– *Meslek bulaştı?*

They say '*meslek bulaştı*' or '*meslek girdi*' [the trade intruded/penetrated]. I mean, if you cut your hand, or something like that, they say, '*meslek girdi*'.

Deniz's experience illustrates the symbolic meaning and performative nature of *meslek bulaştı*. It gives the event a symbolic status similar to that of a rite of passage or an initiation ceremony marking one's entry into a new phase of life such as adulthood, or a new social group such as a religious order (see Clastres, 2010; Van Gennep, 2004). In this case, Deniz was moving from training to professional practice and full-time employment. The chef's theatrical gestures (i.e. summoning Deniz, asking her to show her wrists, checking the scars, pronouncing '*meslek bulaştı*' and 'good luck', and shaking her hand) also added a ceremonial quality to his act and brought the event closer to a *rite of passage*. What especially underscored this quality was, of course, the enunciation of *meslek bulaştı* [you have been contaminated with the trade] and 'good luck'. These are a special type of performative known as illocutionary speech acts (Butler, 2010: 147), which are deeds accomplished through speech that create or shape reality through a declaration (for example, 'I hereby pronounce you husband and wife' or 'The jury finds the defendant guilty'). *Meslek bulaştı*, 'good luck' and the handshake in the above example demonstrate Deniz's recognition as a culinary professional, marking her becoming part of 'the tribe', as Anthony Bourdain would call the kitchen crew in his restaurant (2000: 1654).⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Although *meslek bulaştı* is a Turkish idiom, attitudes to injury in professional kitchens, its marking with some sort of ritual, the pride taken in endurance of physical pain, and the social bonding around it seem to have counterparts elsewhere in the world. Anthony Bourdain writes about his own experience of the phenomenon in the US as follows: 'We considered ourselves a tribe. As such, we had a number of unusual customs, rituals and practices all our own. If you cut yourself in the Work Progress kitchen, tradition called for maximum spillage and dispersion of blood. One squeezed the wound till it ran freely, then hurled great gouts of red spray on the jackets and aprons of comrades. We loved blood in our kitchen. If you dinged yourself badly, it was no disgrace; we'd stencil a little cut-out shape of a chef knife under your station to commemorate the event. After a while, you'd have a little row of these

Having discussed the intended meaning and performative nature of *meslek bulaştı*, *meslek girdi* and *ustalık girdi*, I now turn to their unconscious meaning, which can be deduced from their literal translation. *Meslek* means trade, job, occupation or profession. *Bulaşmak* [the infinitive of *bulaştı*] means to stick, to contaminate or to infect, and *bulaştı* is its past tense. Therefore, the literal translation of *meslek bulaştı* would be ‘you have/she has/he has been contaminated with the trade’. *Girmek* [the infinitive of *girdi*] means to enter, to penetrate or to intrude, and *girdi* is its past tense. Hence, the literal translation of *meslek girdi* is ‘the trade has intruded/penetrated’. *Ustalık* is a noun derived from *usta* [master] and means craftsmanship. Thus, *ustalık girdi* literally translates as ‘craftsmanship intruded/penetrated’. All three versions of the idiom imply that culinary craftsmanship or the profession is a harmful yet invisible force or organism that may infect or invade one’s body through physical contact (a cut, a burn, etc.). While harmful and painful, such contact is how the trade/profession spreads.

The invisible force attributed to the culinary profession and its contagiousness is reminiscent of *mana*, the supposedly supernatural force of a *taboo*. *Taboos* are desirable but prohibited because their *mana* is contagious and devastates an ordinary person. A *taboo* can be ‘everything, whether a person or a place or a thing or a transitory condition, which is the vehicle or source of this mysterious attribute’ (Freud, 1950: 22). In many pre-modern societies, *taboo* restrictions applied to priests, warriors, kings and young men undergoing initiation, among others (Freud, 1950). Those who were permanently *taboo* due to their social status held immense power, usually over matters of life and death. They had to be isolated from the rest of society and observe various restrictions on mundane pleasures (see Freud, 1950: 24). Prohibitions around their person and property effectively insulated the ruling classes and reinforced social stratification.

Modern-day cooks’ social role, isolation and renunciation of mundane pleasures also resemble *taboo* observances. For example, we trust cooks with the food that we consume. This endows them with total control over our corporeal existence, like pre-modern sovereigns’ command over their subjects’ life and death (Keevers and Sykes, 2016: 5). They often do dirty, arduous and dangerous work similar to that performed

things, like a fighter pilot. The house cat – a mouse-killer – got her own stencil (a tiny mouse shape) sprayed on the wall by her water bowl, signifying confirmed kills’ (2000: 1654).

by pre-modern warriors and executioners. Cooks also suffer from isolation because their lives are out of sync with the rest of us and working hours are much longer than usual. Cooks must renounce many mundane pleasures in order to be able to perform their jobs. All these factors can help explain cooks' unconscious attributes and ritualistic practices as an occupational group. As Orkun stressed, most cooks lead an especially isolating and impoverished life that sets them apart from the general public:

There was an executive chef at [hotel name] called [chef's name]. ... He said something that I really liked: 'Gastronomy is an art in your heart' [original in English]. ... In time, I came to agree with him. ... If we had to put it in a soundbite, that would be it. But this is a lifestyle. Why do I say this is a lifestyle? It may be a cliché. Because you sacrifice everything. For what? For cooking, for the culinary sector. What do I mean? You don't have a weekend. You don't have bank holidays. You don't know the day from night, that's a given. When you look at it, you don't have anything. Only food, cooking. From one perspective, it looks like you imprison yourself for life for the sake of the culinary industry. That's it. It's the same all around the world. You don't have holidays or anything, no matter where you do this job. This isn't very nice of course. It may be viable for a single person, but if you want to raise a family, it is a really awful life actually. You don't have weekends. You can't tell night from day. You don't have holidays. You have nothing if you look at it. I mean, what kind of a life is this? If I'm honest, I say 'enough is enough' sometimes. Because people go on holidays, bank holidays, and you work on those days. I don't know, I also want to go out on a Saturday to eat fine food. How can you work every single Saturday? It is always us who serve the people. With time, I'll feel worse about this. That's inevitable. But it isn't so nice if you look at it. You are simply treated like an animal, to put it bluntly. Everybody works 9 to 5, and you work 9 to 9, and so on. Or everybody watches TV shows on primetime when they air, but you either record it or download it from the internet to watch on demand. I mean, you can't watch it on time. These may be small things. Maybe one shouldn't be so upset. But these make you upset over time. And imagine raising a family! I can't look after myself sometimes, let alone having kids and all. Oh my God! How? How? Where will you find the time for them? Let alone the finances... There is that as well. That's why I call this a lifestyle. Because you really need to sacrifice many things if you want to do this job. ... You adjust your whole life to it; you have to, or else you mustn't do it.

Orkun begins this exchange by talking about his deep love for culinary work. However, he opens a can of worms by switching the subject to sacrifice. He adopts the phrase 'lifestyle' to define the atypical, almost ascetic life that cooks lead. He points especially to having to work during others' leisure time, which means their

daily routines are not aligned with those of the rest of society. This, he believes, divides society into those who serve and those who are served. From TV shows on primetime to time with family and Saturday night outings with friends, all are reserved for the former. As servers, cooks must forgo the everyday pleasures that the served take for granted. As his metaphor of imprisonment shows, this culminates in social isolation. Extended hours of intense physical work also take their toll on the bodies and minds of culinary workers, but Orkun sees no light at the end of the tunnel. All things considered, he believes that cooks have nothing but their jobs, which they perform out of love. Cooks' salaries do not compensate for the sacrifices they make and the arduous work they perform (for more on low pay, see Section 3.4).

Members of the culinary sector at all levels – culinary-school instructors, cooks, stewards, restaurant owners, etc. – normalise these working conditions, and even the abuse many receive from supervisors. Resilience is cited among the indispensable qualities of a cook, including endurance of emotional and physical challenges. The armed forces are often used as a metaphor to emphasise the importance attributed to discipline and obedience under any conditions. In addition to these occupational norms, there is fierce competition among cooks to land a job at one of the famed institutions, an ever-growing reserve army of qualified chefs, an increase in insecure contracts, deunionisation and the consequent fall in wages (see Section 3.4). Many interlocutors reported a constant shortage of labour in the restaurants for which they worked. Their teams had shrunk over time, as colleagues had left for various reasons (including burn-out) and employers avoided hiring replacements for as long as they could. As such, remaining members of staff are forced to take on more work and extend their hours. Orkun said that they 'are always expected to self-sacrifice' by employers. These structural problems in employment relations, the occupational norms, and the recent ethos of love institutionalise 'sacrificial labour' (Gregg, 2009: 209-11), which relies on workers taking pleasure from their job to prop up their motivation in the face of low wages and undesirable working conditions. It exploits workers' love for their job to make them perform dirty work, unpaid work, overwork, etc.



Figure 18: Sign on a bakery wall, Bristol, UK
Source: Author's own photo

As can be seen in Orkun's statements above, loving one's job does not eliminate the feelings of resentment, weariness, anger, and even hate that one may harbour toward it. This conflict in feelings and thoughts about culinary work was very common among my interlocutors. To give some examples, Ozan said that he pursued culinary work because it provides freedom, and especially freedom of movement. He then complained about not having any free time and being unable to find a job abroad. Deniz repeatedly said that she loved her job as if it were her child, before recounting a day when she had felt suffocated at work. Aslı said that she loved cooking because it was calming, immediately before confessing the thrill she got from the pressure and intensity of the rush hour. Batu said that the job grows tedious as 'your feet swell, your hands are cut, your back gets hunched', but concluded by saying 'you'll be able to satisfy others, that's the beauty of our job'.

One approach to such conflicts is Hochschild's (1983: 190) differentiation between managed and unmanaged feeling. She argues that commercialisation of human feelings and personality in service settings often leads to masking of inner, authentic feelings with inauthentic, insincere performances (2003: 185). This implies that my interlocutors may have been 'surface acting' (2003: 37), pretending to love their jobs, while they actually hated, resented, disliked or, at best, were indifferent to

them. This is a widely accepted approach, and is often suggested when I present my research at lectures, annual reviews, conferences, etc. Is it not a mistake to take my interlocutors' professed love at face value, given the negative sentiments they also voice and the unpleasant working conditions in which they find themselves? How do I know that they are telling 'the truth'? I believe these are misguided questions based on the assumption of a unitary inner self, as in the 'surface acting' approach.

As previously argued, the subject's core is nothing but an abyss, the self is split and the inside/outside binary does not hold when we take the unconscious into consideration (see Sections 2.2, 4.3, 5.3 and 6.1). I have also discussed earlier in this chapter why we should perceive actions (or 'acting') as forming (per-formative) rather than expressing subjectivity. From this theoretical perspective, it appears wrong to attribute human action authenticity/inauthenticity and sincerity/insincerity which are false dichotomies. Furthermore, my aim in carrying out this analysis is not to read my informants' intentions, nor do I think that that would be methodologically or ethically plausible.

My alternative approach is to adopt the psychoanalytical concept of 'ambivalence' (Freud, 1909, 1915, 1950, 2003; Lacan, 1998; Troha, 2017), which refers to affective conflicts arising from experiencing both pain and pleasure in our relationship with the same object of desire (Freud, 1915: 137). We respond to these conflicting sensations by developing both love and hate toward the same object (Freud, 1915: 137-9). However, conflict between these affects makes it challenging to know how we should react. Should we cut off our affective ties with it, or should we assimilate it, make it part of ourselves? Often, Freud argues (1909), the conflict is resolved by suppressing either love or hate, and usually the former. Nevertheless, the suppressed affect pursues a life of its own in the unconscious, and even gains further strength (Freud, 1909: 176; Troha, 2017: 223). Therefore, far from resolving the conflict, suppression leads to 'splitting of the personality' (Freud, 1909: 177), as the conscious and unconscious pull the subject in opposite directions. Subjects find themselves in an indeterminate stance toward the objects of desire (Freud, 1909: 163) and maintain injurious attachments (Freud, 1909: 155). According to Freud, ambivalence is caused by conflict between the pain and the pleasure that the object inflicts (1915: 137), whereas Lacan argues that it results from the different directions in which 'the genital drive' and other 'partial drives' pull the subject (Lacan, 1998a: 189). Leaving their theoretical disagreements aside, Lacan also acknowledges the

‘love–hate ambivalence’ (1998a: 189), and even argues that one is immanent in the other (Troha, 2017: 218). Therefore, stronger love counter-intuitively leads to stronger hate, and *vice versa*.

This theoretical insight suggests that my interlocutors’ conflicting affects toward their jobs are a consequence of, on the one hand, being driven by different psychic agents in opposing directions, and on the other, both deriving pleasure from and experiencing pain due to work. It also explains the ambivalence in their thoughts about the nature of their work and in their affective disposition toward their work. While some do leave their jobs and look for other careers, as Fulya did for example, many others stay and endure its painful aspects. Rather than having an inner authentic feeling but expressing a different inauthentic one, they seem to be torn between different parts of their psyche in relation to their work. They respond differently to this conflict, depending partly on their circumstances and partly on their subjective dispositions and desires. Finally, perhaps those who are the most critical of culinary work and vocal about its dark side are also those who are most strongly attached to it.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the role of the psyche in affective production, a crucial domain of human experience and economic life overlooked by the affective labour debate. The chapter is based on the basic psychoanalytical insight that social, economic and organisational relationships are significantly shaped by psychic processes and psychosocial relations. As the chapter has shown, organisational architecture, recruitment processes, employers’ conduct, customer satisfaction and employee motivation are all informed by these processes. This is especially true for service-sector organisations that trade in affective goods. The chapter has also shown that affective transmission between producers and consumers is mediated by the imaginary and symbolic registers of the psyche. In other words, affective commodities do not emerge from unmediated contact between bodies, as Spinozist affective labour theorists suggest (see, for example, Ducey, 2007; Hardt, 1999; Wissinger, 2007).

Section 6.1 examined the show kitchen as an image that incites cooks’ desire. It showed that the cook imagines this image to be attractive to others and is motivated by a desire to become their object of desire. Based on interviews and participant observation, I suggest that cooks try to embody the idealised images of culinary professionals by stylising their physical appearance and actions. Thus, they perform

their identification with the passionate and creative chef, as well as with appropriate gender roles, class positions, etc. The section also demonstrated that these efforts are consciously or unconsciously rewarded by employers who wish to replace old-school, self-trained cooks with young, (often) female, passionate and educated cooks who are affectively more productive.

Section 6.2 inquired how the show kitchen and cooks' performances in the show kitchen enhance diners' mood and increase the pleasure they gain from the experience. It demonstrated that the show kitchen must offer an aesthetically pleasing sight and cooks must perform their love for culinary work for this to happen. Based on interview data, it is suggested that patrons form an affective connection with cooks who embody their passion. This affective connection is signified with the culinary expression *sevgisini katmak* [adding/pouring/blending in one's love], the interpretation of which suggests that the affective connection between cooks and diners is mediated through the imaginary. Another idiom, *elinin tadı* [the taste of your hand] afforded a closer look at the affective transmission between the two parties. Based on its Lacanian interpretation, I argue that the image of the show kitchen is overwritten by the discourse of loving one's job, which is the source of its libidinal charge.

Section 6.3 focused on the dark side of loving culinary work. It discussed the physical and emotional toll of culinary labour, which is increasing under contemporary working conditions (overwork, insecurity, falling wages, etc.). Departing from the use of the culinary idioms *meslek bulaştı* [you have been contaminated with the trade], *meslek girdi* [the trade has intruded] and *ustalık girdi* [craftsmanship intruded/penetrated], it has shown the social isolation and pain suffered by culinary workers, which are normalised within the sector. I argue that the structural problems in employment relations, occupational norms, and the recent ethos of love institutionalise 'sacrificial labour' (Gregg, 2009: 209-11) by contemporary cooks. This type of labour relies on pleasure gained from work to motivate employees. It also contributes to the perpetuation of poor working conditions (e.g. low pay, overwork, job insecurity, sub-standard health and safety) by exploiting workers' love for their jobs. Lastly, the section showed that cooks have a conflicted affective disposition toward their work. They report feelings of resentment, weariness, anger, and even hate, which co-exist with passionate attachment. This psychic conflict has been analysed by adopting the psychoanalytical concept of ambivalence. I argue that ambivalence results from culinary work giving both pleasure and pain to those who

perform it and from being psychically torn as a subject. Counter-intuitively, these positive and negative affects are likely to reinforce each other. This also explains why cooks who suffer emotionally and physically cannot easily detach from culinary work for self-preservation.

The chapter contributes to the literature by elucidating: the relationship between affective labour and the ethos of love, the performative nature of affective labour, mediation of affective labour through the imaginary and symbolic registers, the effects of loving one's job on affective productivity and motivation, the dark side of loving one's job, and the intrinsically ambivalent nature of the love in question.

Chapter 7: A Discussion on the Post-Fordist Condition – The Ethos of Love and Affective Labour

Turkish fine-dining cooks' love for their jobs is a puzzle, given the systemic challenges they face and the recent deterioration in their working conditions. In this thesis, I have sought to understand why they pursue their passion for cooking in an exploitative professional setting, rather than doing so in their free time, and how this passion affects their performance of culinary work. The questions guiding this research were: (i) How is the ethos of love culturally produced and reproduced? (ii) What organisational, sectoral and macro-level changes occur in contexts in which it becomes hegemonic? (iii) How do individual subjects become affectively attached to this ethos and incorporate it into their embodied performance of affective labour? (iv) What are the effects on their motivation, productivity and wellbeing? (v) How can we understand the vicissitudes of the love in question?

The existing post-Fordist, affective labour and psychosocial literatures in organisation studies and other disciplines provide only partial answers and have certain internal contradictions. In Chapter 2, I presented their arguments and drew attention to the opportunity to make further contributions. Here, I revisit these and discuss how this thesis moves the literature forward.

This chapter weaves together the theoretical debates and ethnographic findings presented in this thesis. It approaches the questions of why and how the ethos of love has become hegemonic in recent decades from a variety of angles, including the role of cultural and creative industries, context-specific and supranational processes, and psychosocial relations. It discusses how the existing post-Fordist, affective labour and psychosocial literatures deal with these questions, and addresses their gaps and contradictions based on the research findings presented in previous chapters. It demonstrates that the ethos of love is intimately linked with affective labour, and theorises this relationship.

Section 7.1 discusses the dark side of culinary work. Conventional wisdom suggests that the negative characteristics of culinary work, such as overwork, health hazards and bullying, are intrinsic, and hence natural and inevitable. This section questions these assumptions. Section 7.2 is about the ethos of love and addresses the research questions listed above. Section 7.3, on affective labour, draws on the existing literature and research findings, identifies attributes of affective labour, and proposes

a novel, psychoanalytically-informed definition. Section 7.4 focuses on what we can learn about the ethos, affective labour and their relationship from this ethnographic research and the dialogue between the post-Fordist, affective labour and psychosocial literatures. It summarises the contributions of this thesis to these three theoretical approaches.

7.1 The dark side of culinary work

During my fieldwork in the fine-dining chain, I stayed at my sister's house in a relatively central neighbourhood on the Anatolian side of Istanbul, well connected by public transport to other parts of the city. The prep kitchen, where I carried out most of my participant observation, was in a working-class neighbourhood at one edge of the European side of the city. Each journey to and from the prep kitchen necessitated taking a bus, a metro and another bus, with ten-minute walks at each end. The commute took a total of one and a half hours, which is fairly standard for the working classes of Istanbul. Of course, public transport is overcrowded in this city with inadequate infrastructure and 15 million residents. Only those getting on the bus or metro at the first stop are lucky enough to get a seat, and the rest are squeezed in like sardines.

On my fifth day, after being on my feet for ten hours working in the prep kitchen, I changed from the bus to the metro as usual. As I stood exhaustedly in the carriage, cramp shot up my left thigh, followed by a burning sensation. Tears of pain immediately started rolling down my cheek, and I was puzzled as to why my leg had suddenly given way. I re-scanned the train for an empty seat to no avail, and had a miserable trip home. Later that day, when my sister and brother-in-law returned from work, I told them what had happened. My sister laughed it off: 'Oh, that's nothing. It happens in your first week.' My brother-in-law added: 'You probably just have magnesium deficiency. Eat a banana every day and you'll be fine.'

I ate bananas for the rest of my fieldwork, yet for months the burning sensation recurred whenever I was on my feet for more than half an hour. Unlike the first five days of the fieldwork, when I refused to sit except at lunchtime in an effort to subject myself to the same challenges as a regular cook and gain acceptance as a member of the crew, from the sixth day onward I could not help but seize every opportunity to rest my feet. For example, rather than chopping vegetables while standing at the

kitchen counter, I would bag soup while sitting on a stool, or shell fava beans while sitting at the table.

To be honest, I quite enjoyed shelling fava beans, a rare kind in Turkey that I had not cooked before. Crack open one end, squeeze the bean out from the other; crack one end, squeeze from the other; crack, squeeze... The first time I took on this task, there were three of us at the table, and we chatted all the way through as if we were neighbours in a village, or women in an extended family collectivising house chores. After an hour or so, I had cramp in my right palm extending toward the space between my thumb and index finger. I then realised that even the apparently most effortless work in a professional kitchen requires physical strength and endurance. As my interlocutors often said, cooking on an industrial scale is very different from cooking at home.

In addition to the physical challenges, one must have perfect time management, and be able to plan ahead and deal with unforeseen challenges and other constant pressures that tax one mentally and emotionally. Preparation of the various components should be so well synchronised for every item on the menu that one should be able to mix or plate them up at precisely the right moment. This is crucial, not only for the look and taste of the dish, but also for its timely service, delivery or storage. The division of labour should be such that it ensures the most efficient use of the kitchen space, equipment and labour. If three items need to be cooked in the double oven at the same time, one is in trouble. One must be agile in developing creative solutions if the deliveryman fails to appear, a cook calls in sick in the morning or the price of an ingredient on the new menu suddenly jumps. All of these require cognitive labour in addition to physical labour.

Finally, culinary work demands affective labour, as discussed in previous chapters. One must participate in team building, for instance by dancing along to a song in the prep kitchen (Section 6.1), since cooperation and coordination are crucial for accomplishing the work. Cooks working in contact with patrons must manage their emotions in dealing with cranky customers, or when they are in a low mood for reasons other than work (Section 6.1). They must perform their identifications, and impress and/or entertain their audience if they work in the show kitchen (see Chapter 6).

The challenges discussed above are regarded as intrinsic to culinary work, especially by sector leaders, employers, culinary schools and the media, but also by a significant number of cooks. Nevertheless, managerial decisions may significantly

compound or reduce these challenges, and undermine or ameliorate workers' rights and wellbeing. For instance, such decisions may relate to the very crucial, yet often neglected, subject of ergonomic kitchen design (Jeong, 2015; Nyström, 2003). From air-conditioning to non-slip flooring, the positioning of kitchen equipment or the height of the kitchen counter, many aspects of kitchen design are vital to workplace health and safety (Jeong, 2015; Nyström, 2003). Previous research in this area has emphasised several additional risk factors leading to sometimes life-changing injuries, including the age and experience of culinary staff, high staff turnover, insufficient training, understaffing, overwork and low pay (see Jeong, 2015; Nyström, 2003). Although it is employers' responsibility to eliminate such risk factors, health and safety usually comes after profitability in their list of priorities.⁴⁷

In Turkey, high-end, standalone restaurants are the most notorious, with the longest working hours (twelve-hour days and six-day weeks are common), lowest wages, virtually no organisational mechanisms for workers' protection and strict organisational hierarchies. Long-established hotel restaurants, on the other hand, are seen as the best employers, with HR departments autonomous from the culinary team, health and safety checks and workplace dignity and equality policies. Lane (2014: 70-103) makes similar observations on standalone and hotel fine-dining restaurants in Europe, arguing that the profits to be made from fine dining are always limited owing to a narrow pool of affluent customers, expensive ingredients and labour-intensive work, but that hotels have separate streams of income that they can redirect to their restaurants. She suggests that fine-dining restaurants are not established for their own profitability but for the purposes of branding and marketing. Famous chefs and hotels use them to attract customers to their more lucrative services, such as cookbooks, chefs' TV appearances, accommodation and hotel events. Nevertheless, while hotels see their restaurants as part of their larger business and reward their restaurant staff accordingly, fine-dining chef and owners view their restaurants as independent of other parts of their work or business and do not redirect income earned elsewhere. This is, of course, a generalisation that does not apply to all high-end restaurants.

⁴⁷ According to a recent newspaper article (Arslan et al., 2019), statutory obligations are also frequently violated in Turkey. The Turkish media often report that employers are alerted ahead of workplace inspections in order to cover up legal violations. Further research would be necessary to verify the facts of this matter, which is beyond the remit of this thesis.

One factor that ensures better working conditions in top hotel restaurants in Turkey is unionisation of the workforce. Self-trained cooks used to be represented in large numbers, had been well established through decades of employment and had strong occupational networks buttressed by kinship in these organisations (see Section 3.1). When educated cooks entered the sector in their thousands, they undercut wages, accepted insecure contracts, and rapidly inverted the image of a modern chef (see Sections 3.4, 4.1 and 5.1). Culturified representations portrayed the self-trained cooks as backward, uneducated, uncultured and rowdy (Sections 3.4 and 5.1). Soon, the two groups found themselves struggling over employment and promotion opportunities, as well as social recognition, often engaging in aggressive tactics such as bullying and harassment. These hotel restaurants thus became hotbeds of antagonism between self-trained and educated cooks.

Despite parallels between restaurants, especially of the same kind, working conditions vary considerably, while salaries and benefits remain similar in the Turkish fine-dining sector. For example, the restaurant chain I researched used post-Fordist management techniques such as relatively horizontal organisation, expecting self-discipline from employees and prioritising happiness at work in recruitment (for further discussion, see Section 2.1). The managers trusted the team to agree the division of labour among themselves, apart from executive positions, and to work without close scrutiny. In fact, the staff often complained that individual responsibilities were not clearly defined and there was insufficient oversight. They alleged that intra-team rivalries often hindered teamwork, and that those with less self-discipline were free-riding. When recruiting, the managers invited candidates for a trial day and observed whether they worked in harmony with the team and were happy in their prospective workplace. This restaurant also stood out for providing a healthy diet and adequate breaks for the staff, which were a luxury compared with many other restaurants of the same calibre. It should be noted that it benefited from being a prep kitchen⁴⁸, where work is more structured and routine than in *à la carte* restaurants. This allowed planned breaks and limited the necessity for overwork, although the latter was still common. Its unfavourable practices included taking on unpaid trainees for extended and uncertain periods of time, paying wages below sector averages,

⁴⁸ A prep kitchen is a closed kitchen that supports the restaurant's show kitchen through initial food preparation, and carrying out aesthetically unpleasing work or tasks for which the show kitchen is physically ill-equipped (see Section 6.1).

overwork (typically twelve-hour days) and parsimonious granting of sick leave owing to staff shortages.⁴⁹

One of the restaurant's staff drew a comparison with a similar restaurant where she had previously worked, which was notorious for its strict hierarchy, micro-management and working conditions reminiscent of sweatshops. For example, the staff were not allowed to visit the restroom as frequently as they needed, so they reduced their water intake. For lunch and dinner, they were served either patrons' leftovers, which would sometimes be off, or an insufficient amount of freshly cooked food using the cheapest ingredients. Consequently, they often went hungry during their shifts, despite performing very demanding physical work. Other interlocutors with experience in different restaurants reported similar conditions, to varying degrees and in various areas (e.g. health and safety, bullying and harassment, wages, overwork, etc.). In other words, the working conditions in the sector are contingent on the peculiar circumstances of the restaurant, organisational practices and managerial decisions, despite showing overall sectoral and macro-economic trends. This suggests that the sector's transition to post-Fordism has not been uniform and homogeneous, which is entirely in line with the Lacanian theorisation of social structures as fissured, inconsistent and contingent (see Section 2.3). Having highlighted this issue, I now turn to general trends identified in this thesis.

Over the last decade, Turkish high-end restaurants have seen a range of significant organisational changes affecting working conditions. In Section 3.4, I pointed out that educated cooks, whose number has grown exponentially in recent years, have been used by restaurants to undercut wages and weaken kin-based networks of self-trained cooks, because the latter engage in collective bargaining and support each other against employers. In Section 6.1, I presented interview data relating to a hotel restaurant where permanently employed, self-trained cooks were bullied and intimidated by the management. The educated cooks who replaced them were employed through sub-contracting agencies, usually on a temporary basis, were paid less and did not have the right to join a union. Interlocutors reported use of similar managerial tactics across the sector, especially in hotel restaurants where staff had

⁴⁹ Difficulty in gaining permission for sick leave is endemic in the sector. This was a grievance frequently voiced in the interviews. I also witnessed cooks continuing to work despite health problems such as fevers. They faced as much pressure from their peers as they did from their managers not to take leave, because a missing team member placed an almost unbearable amount of extra work on their colleagues who were already working to their limits.

worked securely for many years, had gained some control over recruitment, promotion and pay, and/or were unionised. Finally, in Section 6.3 I mentioned that restaurants have minimised their workforce over the last decade, imposing ever longer hours and self-sacrifice on remaining workers. The overall picture suggests that workers' rights and working conditions have been deteriorating in the Turkish fine-dining sector in the last decade in ways that are typical of neoliberalisation and the transition to post-Fordism (see also Chapters 1, 2 and 3). Replacing self-trained with educated cooks has been instrumental in institutionalising low pay, overwork and job insecurity.

The one area in which there have been remarkable improvements is gender equality. Women's participation in culinary work has increased significantly, especially since the opening of private culinary schools (Section 3.3). Gender-based abuse and discrimination have consequently decreased. Even in the relatively short space of time between the preliminary research in 2012-3 and the fieldwork in 2016, there had been a significant drop in cases of harassment and bullying, judging by my interlocutors' accounts and my own observations. In 2012-3, interviewees shared horrific experiences, including male colleagues secretly recording female culinary workers with a hidden camera in the dressing room, sexual assaults on both women and men, and constant use of obscene, sexist and homophobic language. Most of these cases went unreported or unpunished. The prep kitchen where I undertook participant observation was in contrast to what I had heard in the preliminary research. There were women at all ranks, which made the restaurant much more egalitarian in terms of gender than those with a rigid male hegemony. Interlocutors from the chain who recounted harassment and discrimination said that these events had taken place in their previous workplaces. Most interviewees from other organisations also shared stories from a few years previously.

7.2 On the ethos of love

The emergence of 'passion for work' at a time of deteriorating working conditions has been viewed as a contradiction, especially in the post-Fordist (for example, Hardt and Negri, 2004: 17, 2009: 144-9; Virno, 1996; Weeks, 2012: 70) and psychoanalytically-inflected literatures (for example, Bicknell and Liefoghe, 2010; Ekman, 2014; Madra and Özselçuk, 2010; Roberts, 2005). Previous research has inquired why and how people become strongly attached to work under such circumstances. This section reconsiders this debate in light of the findings presented in previous chapters.

Post-Fordist scholars have put forward four arguments relevant to this discussion. First, they suggest that the ethos of love originates from and is spread by the creative and cultural industries (Carnera, 2012; Dowling, 2007; Gill, 2010; Gill and Pratt, 2008; Gregg, 2009). In these industries, workers are passionately attached to their work and motivated by a desire to create (Conor et al., 2015: 2; Peticca-Harris et al., 2015: 574; Terranova, 2000; Wissinger, 2007: 255). They inscribe their ideologies, tastes, values and norms into the products of their work, which enables dissemination of the post-Fordist ethos to the general public (for example, see Hardt, 2004: 148; Hoedemaekers, 2018: 1362, 1366; Lazzarato, 1996: 132; Mumby, 2016). Second, affective and cognitive production are key to contemporary capitalism (Fleming, 2014b: 5, 34; Hardt and Negri, 2004: 107-9, 2009: 132; Lazzarato, 1996). Since these require a deeper embodied, mental and emotional engagement, capitalists make active efforts to subsume the worker's soul (Dowling, 2007: 121, 574; Lazzarato, 1996; Gabriel et al., 2015: 633; Mumby, 2016: 887, 898; Peticca-Harris et al., 2015: 574). The affective labour literature expands on this point and argues that affective labour demands particularly intimate, caring and emotional engagement, because one is working with humans to enhance their wellbeing (Dowling, 2007: 120; Hochschild, 1983: 6; Rose, 1983: 83; Weeks, 2007: 239; Wissinger, 2007: 252). This engagement has become widespread with the increased use of affective labour resulting from the expansion of services under post-Fordism. Third, dismantling of the life/work boundary that previously kept capitalism in spatial and temporal check enables the hegemony of the post-Fordist ethos, as there is no place or time where workers can fully isolate themselves from work (Fleming, 2014: 2; Hardt and Negri, 2004: 111-2; Mumby, 2016: 897; Wissinger, 2007: 254-6). Fourth, workers unwittingly serve capitalists' desire to transition to the post-Fordist regime in an effort to escape the disciplinary power of Fordist institutions and in pursuit of creative jobs. While their love for their jobs makes them more vulnerable to increasing work demands, their fervour for self-realisation leads to 'self-exploitation' (Ekman, 2014: 154; Fleming, 2014b: 2; Hoedemaekers, 2018: 1368; Virno, 1996: 249; Woodward and Lea, 2010: 163). Rather than escaping disciplinary power, they end up internalising managerial pressures to perform, produce and create (Ekman, 2014: 143).

This thesis problematises post-Fordist literature's heavy reliance on sociological and philosophical meta-narratives. Even contributions to the literature from organisational scholars usher in assumptions about human subjectivity and

generalisations about post-Fordist capitalism. Empirically-informed accounts of the emergence(s), global circulation and local articulations of the post-Fordist ethos are lacking. Thus, it is unclear how the ethos gained cross-sectoral, international hegemony. In order to address this question, I conducted multi-sited organisational ethnographic research on the Turkish fine-dining sector, which has been transitioning to post-Fordism over the past two decades. Although this provides a partial account of post-Fordism rooted in a specific locale, it illustrates some global trends in contemporary regimes and the ideology of work.

In Chapters 3 and 5, I showed that the creative and cultural industries have played a key role in circulating the post-Fordist ethos around the world. A wealth of culinary romantic-comedies, TV shows and documentaries from the Global North have served to establish its hegemony in the culinary sector in particular. Their message that culinary work is creative and passionate has been reinforced by academic discourse, as well as other traditional and social media. In Chapter 5, I argued that these discourses and related cultural imagery have helped establish a new representational apparatus that glorifies culinary work. Chapters 3, 5 and 6 demonstrated how local organisations and actors in Istanbul, such as culinary schools, restaurants, media outlets and celebrity chefs, have helped articulate this apparatus at the local level, have further disseminated the post-Fordist discourse and imagery, and have reified the post-Fordist ethos through organisational changes such as prioritising love for culinary work in recruitment, adopting the show kitchen trend and employing educated cooks. In exploring the paths along which the post-Fordist ethos has travelled, where it has settled and how it has taken root, this thesis provides an evidence-based account of how it has become hegemonic in the Turkish culinary context.

The second important shortfall of the post-Fordist literature is its lack of theoretical tools to elucidate people's psychic and affective attachments to the ethos of love, and its effects on their job motivation, productivity and wellbeing. It does not consider psychosocial relations and unconscious mechanisms that enable these attachments, nor does it explain how workers and organisations unconsciously act on, embody or reify the post-Fordist ethos. These have been addressed with the help of psychoanalysis and psychosocial organisational literature.

Chapter 5 showed that the interlocutors were cognizant of the fact that culinary work's cultural representations are disingenuous. They realised that the culinary media

present its hardships as endurable, and even enjoyable, as long as one loves it. Nevertheless, they were influenced by these representations at an unconscious level. It was argued in Chapter 5 that these representations take their strength from the harmonious social existence and the unitary subjectivity that they present to viewers, as well as their ability to evoke affect through aesthetic and sensual imagery. The chapter also offered psychoanalytical interpretations of the idiomatic expressions invoked by interlocutors to describe their reactions to this imagery. These interpretations attest to the interlocutors' symbolic identifications with the ethos of love and imaginary identification with its cultural representations.

Further analyses of symbolic identification with the post-Fordist ethos and imaginary identification with culturified images of culinary work were provided in Chapter 6. Here, it was demonstrated that the 'show kitchen' functions as an image in the Lacanian sense, inciting desire in both patrons and cooks. Based on psychoanalytical interpretations of idiomatic expressions, it was argued that in the show kitchen, the cook embodies and performs the image of the passionate, creative chef, and patrons are affectively moved by the sight of this performance, which matches their idealised image of a chef. The chapter discussed how the two parties thereby engage in an unconscious play of desires mediated through the show kitchen. It also showed that both parties' desires are shaped by the ethos of love inscribed in the symbolic register, which renders the image of the passionate chef in the show kitchen alluring in the first place.

Having discussed the post-Fordist literature's approach to the ethos of love, its gaps and how they are addressed in this thesis by deploying psychoanalytical theory, I can now return to the question of why and how this ethos has become hegemonic at a time of deepening exploitation. This research has revealed a complex structure–agency dynamic that cannot be reduced to either an omnipotent capitalism (or capitalist class, managerial class, etc.) overdetermining work and workers' subjectivities, or self-interested rational subjects in full control of their own fates.

The Lacanian approach proposed in this thesis rests on a negative ontology of the subject as lacking essence and coherence (see Chapters 2, 4, 5 and 6). This subject is constituted in relation to the socio-symbolic and imaginary universe into which s/he is born (Section 2.3). This relationship does not simply entail internalisation of norms and externalisation of beliefs and desires, which would require an *a priori* ego, but implicates individual and social subjects in each other's core (Sections 2.3 and 4.3).

Nevertheless, at their core is nothing but a void, lack or gap, because neither have essence, unity or consistency. The two are attached precisely where they are lacking (Sections 2.3 and 6.2).

In this relationship, individual subjects are in a subordinate position with respect to the structure because they are constituted in the Other's space, i.e. in the socio-symbolic structure (Section 4.3). However, this does not mean that they are formed within the predetermined, immutable confines of a subject-position in that structure, as many argue. They come into being in response to a gap in the socio-symbolic, the enigma of the Other's desire, and fill this gap creatively in line with their own desires (Sections 2.3 and 6.3). These desires take shape as they interpret social expectations, taking their cues from hegemonic discourses and cultural imagery, exposure to which is determined by their particular life trajectory (Sections 4.3, 5.3 and 6.2).

We can infer from the psychosocial processes of subject formation described above that subjects each slightly alter the socio-symbolic structures they join by creatively filling the place where there was previously a void (Sections 2.3 and 6.3). In other words, their (symbolic) identifications are not only reproductive of the structure as a whole, but are also productive of something new and peculiar within that structure (Sections 2.3 and 6.3). This is precisely the space for agency in Lacanian theorisation. Nevertheless, previous psychoanalytically-inflected organisational research has built its analysis on imaginary identification, which reproduces existing social roles, and has thus overlooked this space for agency (for further discussion, see Sections 2.3 and 2.4). To better explain the nature of this agency, it is important to reiterate that desire is formed and enacted unconsciously, and is hence resistant to conscious efforts to control. That is why, in this theoretical framework, agency refers not to rational thought and wilful action, but to desirous being and performative action. As argued above, these are shaped but not overdetermined by psychosocial relations.

Application of this theory to empirical observations made during this research suggests that the post-Fordist ethos or ideology is the socio-symbolic structure with which interlocutors identified. They have been exposed to the call to 'Do What You Love!' in job adverts, self-help books, movies, newspapers, and so on, which has shaped their desire for creative jobs that they can pursue with passion and enjoyment. They know full well that cultural images of culinary work are misleading, but they are still enticed (Section 5.3). Being aware of working conditions on the ground does not keep them from chasing an idealised notion of culinary work. They are disappointed

when they realise that recipes are created by the chef and owner in a separate workshop they have never seen, and that they must cook them hundreds of times with precision. Yet they continue to invest in the belief that culinary work is creative. If only they were given the time and ingredients to experiment with... They chose culinary work because they expected freedom: freedom from confinement to an office space, freedom from prolonged desk work, freedom of movement (Section 6.3). They find themselves at the bottom of a strict workplace hierarchy, tied to their kitchen work stations, and with passports that do not usually allow them to travel far from Turkey (Section 6.3). They have found out that they are likely to develop hunchbacks, varicose veins and herniated discs in this line of work, but their love for culinary practice provides them with the motivation and endurance to persevere (Section 6.3).

As shown in Chapter 6, cooks also experience an affective transmission during in-person encounters, especially in the show kitchen. They are appreciated and admired by patrons, who believe they embody the ethos of love. This emotionally rewarding part of culinary work provides affective support for their identifications. Although not explored at great length in this thesis, forming networks and building skills are also important for educated cooks, who enter the sector at a relatively old age and want to climb the career ladder as fast as possible. An important contribution of the affective labour debate is its proposal of the term ‘affective remuneration’ (Dowling, 2016) to denote this phenomenon. This concept refers to emotional rewards and in-kind payments enjoyed by affective labourers, which underpin their attachment to jobs that are underpaid, insecure and demand overwork. These include enhancement of workers’ mood and wellbeing, formation of social connections, acquisition of skills, references and networks, and potential increases in future employability and income (Dowling, 2016: 8). However, this research has shown that the concept of affective remuneration falls short of explaining affective attachment to work in its full psychosocial complexity.

Affective remuneration does not mitigate the disappointments and challenges faced by cooks; it only strengthens their affective ties to culinary work. Problematically, cooks are pulled in one direction by their conscious selves who seek self-preservation, and in another by their unconscious selves who enjoy culinary work (Section 6.3). While some authors conceive this as self-inflicted pain, the psychoanalytical approach provides a more nuanced understanding. It argues that humans are attached to objects outside of themselves (other humans, jobs,

commodities, etc.) over which they have no control. These attachments become painful when the desiring person's wishes and demands are not met (Freud, 1909, 1915), which is necessarily the case in all attachments to varying degrees (Kenny, 2010; Kenny et al., 2018). The conscious self tries to withdraw from an object when it becomes a source of pain, whereas the unconscious self often remains attached and continues to enjoy chasing its object of desire (Freud, 1909: 155). In psychoanalytical discourse, this state of affairs is called ambivalence (Freud, 1909, 1915, 1950, 2003; Lacan, 1998; Troha, 2017). Ambivalence as a theoretical concept helps me explain my interlocutors' conflicting affective dispositions and continued attachment to culinary work (Section 6.3).

It is crucial to note that subjects each deal with ambivalence in their own way (see also Section 6.3). My interlocutors' responses included attributing all problems to their boss rather than recognising organisational or structural issues, moving from one workplace to another or abroad in search of better working conditions and better pay, becoming private chefs for affluent families where they would manage the kitchen, and ending their culinary careers. However, they also demonstrated various forms of resistance in their workplaces. Some had tried to use available grievance mechanisms (Footnote 26 in Section 5.3), and some had walked out in protest during the high season, when restaurants are extremely busy and cooks are in short supply (see Section 3.4).

The findings do not support the claim that workers are attached to the post-Fordist ethos because they cannot imagine any alternative. Some interlocutors did indeed share their desire for an alternative organisation of life and work (for example, see Section 6.1). Some had been involved in alternative projects, for example volunteering in youth camps, working in community kitchens, and forming horizontally-organised seasonal culinary teams with friends. Some had been active in the Gezi Movement in summer 2013, to voice their grievances and become involved in the imagining and establishment of alternative social, economic and political structures. When they felt that they could neither endure nor change, they escaped the restaurant, the city, the country or the sector, as is typical of post-Fordist workers, whose most common form of resistance is taking flight (see Virno, 1996). These varied responses to ambivalence towards culinary work and post-Fordist capitalism are testament to their agency.

In any case, I do not believe that my interlocutors had ever given their informed consent to the working conditions currently found in the sector. It is problematic to talk about consent when there is a forced choice between jobs that are all exploitative to varying degrees. The alternative – no work, and hence no income – is not a real alternative for the great majority of people. My interlocutors wanted to pursue culinary work and thought they could endure the working conditions. However, if given a choice, they would all prefer better pay, fewer hours, healthier work environments, dignified treatment by superiors, and so on.

It is important to acknowledge that most felt that they had a binary choice between a non-fulfilling job with somewhat better pay and working conditions (e.g. shop manager, bank clerk, financial auditor) and a job that they loved. Prior to becoming cooks, they had been wary of spending most of their lives performing jobs or attending schools that gave them no satisfaction. They might potentially have struggled harder for less work and more free time, but had chosen a shortcut to fulfilment, which is to bring one's passion to work. Nevertheless, it would be misleading to say that this decision resulted from a lack of imagination. First, it must be seen against the background of the brave new world of post-Fordism, in which work is no longer considered as a necessary evil, but as a fulfilling, enjoyable pursuit (Section 2.1). People are rewarded with social recognition for doing what they love, not in their free time but at work. Pursuing alternatives entails not only lost income, but also social and emotional costs (Section 6.1; see also Kenny, 2010: 859; Kenny et.al., 2018: 5). Second, many do struggle for alternatives at work and beyond, but systemic change often occurs slowly.

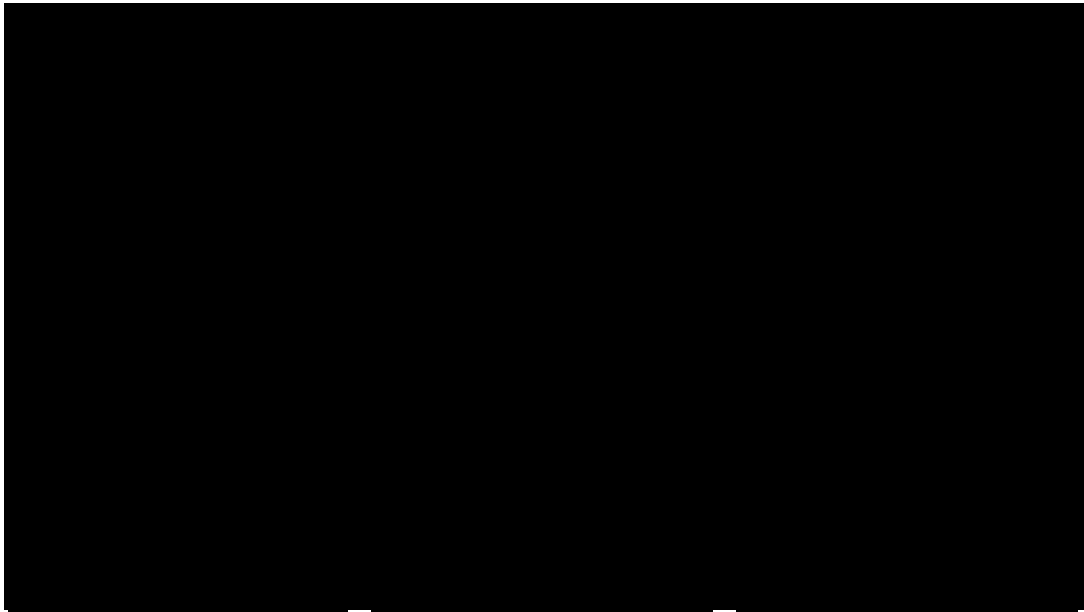


Figure 19: Job search engine ad

This appeared on my social media account as I wrote this section, reminding me that there is no break from the post-Fordist ethos, even when writing an entire PhD thesis to critique it. I believe this illustrates the context within which my interlocutors made the decision to bring their passion to work.

To summarise, this thesis proposes that we approach love for one's job as a psychosocial phenomenon, which takes idiosyncratic forms in each particular case but has some broad, porous and mutating contours. Attachment to the post-Fordist ethos creates not only the apparent conflict of loving a job that harms one financially, physically and emotionally, but also psychic conflicts and ambivalence. This thesis encourages scholars to attend to the multiplicity of ways in which different subjects deal with this ambivalence, rather than resorting to methodological individualism and generalised assumptions about human nature, such as opportunism, selfishness, rationality or irrationality. Agency manifests itself in these responses to ambivalence intrinsic to all love relations.

7.3 On affective labour

The current working definition of affective labour is production of 'a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement, passion' (Hardt, 1999: 96). As argued in Chapter 2, this definition is too broad in terms of the types of production it encapsulates, yet too narrow in the attributes of affective labour it includes. In this section, I critically revisit the literature, with the aims of delineating the main attributes of affective labour, adding to them based on the research findings, and reconceptualising affective labour from a psychoanalytical perspective. As part of this endeavour, the section discusses the relationship between affective labour and the post-Fordist ethos, which

has been under-studied in previous affective labour research. My theorisation of affective labour draws on the Marxist feminist literature and emotional labour theory, as well as the recent affective labour debate (see Chapter 2).

The first attribute of affective labour is that it requires interpersonal skills and emotion management. Marxist feminist authors (for example Dalla Costa, 2007; Dowling, 2007; Fortunati, 2007; Weeks, 2007) have drawn attention to this aspect of women's unpaid affective labour, which is particularly involved in care (e.g. of the elderly), reproduction (maintenance of emotional and physical wellbeing) and emotion work (e.g. ensuring good relations between members of the household). Emotional labour theorists argue that women's emotional skills, developed in the private sphere, are later valorised and exploited in service roles such as flight attendants, salespeople and nurses (for example, see Hochschild, 1983). In Chapter 6, I showed that the introduction of show kitchens into restaurants, where cooks interact with diners, has incorporated this aspect of affective labour into culinary work.

Second, affective labour requires human contact. Previous studies have argued that this contact may be either actual or virtual (Hardt, 1999: 95-6). Here, actual refers to physical contact as in a massage, or physical presence as in flight attendance. Virtual refers to long-distance contact enabled by communication devices such as TV, telephones and computers, and artefacts such as photographs, music recordings and artwork. For instance, Wissinger (2007) has shown that fashion models produce affect through actual contact in shows and photoshoots, as well as through virtual contact with their images published in fashion magazines. These authors consider both actual and virtual contact to be direct and bodily, and argue that the affective transmission they achieve is unmediated and automatic (for example, see Wissinger, 2007: 261). However, as argued in Chapter 2, so-called 'virtual' contact is clearly mediated by discourse and imagery, by virtue of being conveyed through communication devices and artefacts. In Chapter 6, I went beyond this assertion to show that even so-called 'actual' contact is mediated by imagery and discourse. As also mentioned in the previous section, the 'show kitchen' serves as an image, in the Lacanian sense, in both the cook's and the patron's psyche, and mediates their play of desires. I have also argued that both parties identify with the Post-Fordist ethos that shapes these desires. Therefore, the thesis makes a contribution to the literature by showing mediation of the human contact involved in affective labour through the symbolic and imaginary registers of the psyche.

Third, affective labour is the labour of reproducing humans as individuals and collectives. Marxist feminist authors argue that capitalism outsources the reproduction of labour power to women, who perform it without pay or recognition (Dowling, 2007: 125; Fortunati, 2007: 145). This reproductive work in the private/domestic sphere requires affective labour. On the other hand, affective labour theorists draw attention to paid affective labour, such as care work, sex work and entertainment, which also reproduces human beings (see Hochschild, 1983). They add that affective labour builds families, teams, social networks and communities in both its paid and unpaid forms (Hardt, 1999: 89). Cooks' affective labour demonstrates this reproductive quality, when it is performed in the show kitchen where it enhances the pleasure and wellbeing of patrons, and when it is performed backstage for teambuilding purposes.

Fourth, affective labour is performative. In this thesis, the performativity of affective labour refers to three interlaced qualities. The first is the performance of gender, class and race positions and identities (Dowling, 2012: 111; Elias et al., 2017: 35; Hochschild, 1983:163; Weeks, 2007: 241). In the literature, this is referred to as a requirement to look good and sound right, and is considered to be an unspoken demand for affective labourers to embody idealised images and abide by social norms associated with these roles. The recruitment and training of (especially female) educated cooks for positions in the show kitchen, mentioned in Section 6.1, exemplify this type of performativity. Affective labourers are also expected to embody and enact organisational or brand 'values'. As Dowling's examples of being "gracious", "attentive", "authentic", "fun", "friendly", "accountable" and "original" (2012: 120) also show, these so-called values are personal characteristics of an affectively productive worker. Performance of 'the bad boy chef' image or 'the creative and passionate chef' image by cooks in the show kitchen, analysed in Section 6.1, exemplify this phenomenon. Finally, and most importantly for the purposes of this thesis, affective labourers perform the post-Fordist ethos. This deserves attention as an individual attribute, not least because it is key to the relationship between love and affective labour.

The fifth and final attribute of affective labour is the performance of love. As Hochschild (1983: 6) has written, while performing affective labour, '[s]eeming to "love the job" becomes part of the job; and actually trying to love it, and to enjoy the customers, helps the worker in this effort'. Weeks (2007: 240-1) takes this argument further in suggesting that this movement from outward display of love to 'actual' love

is constitutive of the subject; it is the process of *becoming*. She calls this phenomenon ‘the specific performativity of emotional labour’, which ‘extends to the affective life of the subject, into the fabric of the personality’ (Weeks, 2007: 240-1). However, she does not explain this performativity, and especially its affective and psychic mechanisms, in any more detail, so how performance of love for one’s job during affective labour constructs subjectivity remains unexplained.

In Chapter 6, I studied this per-formative, constitutive side of affective labour by deploying the Lacanian theory of subjectivity and Butler’s theory of performativity to analyse my interlocutors’ affective labour (see also Section 2.2). Butler (1988) argues that embodiment and performance are not expressions of the subject’s inner self, because such a coherent essence does not exist (see also Kenny et.al., 2018: 5). Rather, the subject forms, embodies and enacts identifications through ‘stylization of the body’ and ‘stylized repetition of acts’ (Butler, 1988: 519). These performances shape subjectivity and retrospectively create a semblance of essence. In Chapter 6, I applied these insights to performances in the show kitchen, including those of gender identity and class position, of cultural images such as ‘the bad boy chef’, and of the post-Fordist ethos. I argue that these are imaginary and symbolic identifications of cooks, not their personality traits or intrinsic qualities, and that their performance shapes their subjectivity (Sections 6.1 and 6.2). In other words, they become cooks who love their jobs (or are creative, ‘bad boy chefs’, etc.) as they perform affective labour. This is a contribution to the post-Fordist theory, the affective labour debate and psychosocial research, and ties these three theories together.

My approach to performativity differs from Butler’s and Butlerian psychosocial research in its theorisation of identification. As discussed earlier in this chapter, I differentiate between imaginary and symbolic identification (see also Chapters 2, 4, 5 and 6). Imaginary identification refers to identification with the other’s image, which portrays a unitary subject, in order to repair the split in one’s psyche (Section 2.3). As shown in Chapters 5 and 6, cooks identify with cultural imagery that represents chefs as creative and passionate. This identification reproduces cultural norms and moulds the subject in their image. Symbolic identification, on the other hand, refers to identification with a socio-symbolic system, a normative order or an ethos. It means becoming a member of a collective composed of subjects signified to each other through and bound to each other by language. As discussed in the previous section, one takes the space of a gap in this collective when one symbolically identifies, and

fills it as commanded by one's desires. In this theorisation, the act of becoming is the creation of a subject out of nothing, out of an abyss that creates curiosity and incites desire on the part of the subject-to-be. This space for agency sets my theorisation apart from the Butlerian approach, according to which identification means submission to the Other's law and assumption of a predetermined role. In other words, Butler's identification is imaginary identification, and her performance is a reproductive performance. I propose that identification with the ethos of love as symbolic (and hence as productive and creative) should be separated from identification with cultural imagery as imaginary (and hence as reproductive). By extension, performance of the post-Fordist ethos in affective labour should be considered as an undetermined and productive process that carries the potential for change, whether individual or social. This also is a contribution to both psychoanalytically-inflected research, the post-Fordist theory, and the affective labour debate.

In summary, this thesis has shown that affective labour is the performative work of reproducing individuals and collectives, and requires human contact, interpersonal skills, emotion management, embodiment of cultural imagery and social roles, and love.

7.4 Post-Fordism, love and affective labour

In this chapter, I have reassessed the post-Fordist, affective labour and psychosocial literatures based on the findings from the ethnographic research. The main focus of the chapter has been why and how the ethos of love has become hegemonic in recent decades, and how it relates to affective labour.

Section 7.1 looked at the dark side of culinary work. It discussed the physical, mental and affective challenges involved, and considered whether and how these can be mitigated, as well as improvements and deteriorations in working conditions in recent decades. The section concluded that the dark side is not intrinsic to culinary work, but is a product of managerial and organisational practices and socio-economic processes.

Section 7.2 focused on the two important gaps in the post-Fordist literature addressed in this thesis. The first is its heavy reliance on meta-narratives and the lack of empirically-informed accounts of the post-Fordist ethos. This section explained how ethnographic research uncovers the emergence and global circulation of the ethos, in addition to its articulation at a local level. It is argued that the thesis moves from

the micro level of the Turkish cooks and the meso level of the Turkish fine-dining and culinary education sectors, to the macro level of global trends in post-Fordist production and ideology. The second gap is the lack of theoretical depth in analyses of psychic and affective attachments to the post-Fordist ethos and its effects on job motivation, productivity and wellbeing. Drawing on the empirical findings and their psychoanalytical interpretations presented in previous chapters, the section discussed how these attachments are unconsciously formed, acted on, embodied and reified.

The key contribution of this thesis is its argument that interlocutors form symbolic identifications with the ethos of love and imaginary identifications with the cultural imagery in which the ethos is embedded. While imaginary identification leads to mimicking of others, and hence reproduces the same social roles and behaviour, symbolic identification leads to creative filling of gaps in the social structure in pursuit of one's desires, and hence produces new subjectivities and piecemeal changes in the structure. This argument contributes to (i) the post-Fordist literature by explaining psychic attachments to its ethos, (ii) the affective labour literature by showing that affective labour involves performance of identifications that build subjectivity through everyday practice, and (iii) to psychoanalytically-inflected organisational research by showing the productive and transformative side of symbolic identifications.

I have developed a new methodological approach in order to interpret symbolic identifications, because previous psychoanalytically-inflected research was designed to operate in and study the imaginary register of the psyche (especially imaginary identifications and fantasy). As a point of entry to the unconscious and affect, I have used idiomatic expressions whose polyvalence and homonymy allow communication of collectively shared unconscious thoughts. Interpreting their literal rather than intended meanings enabled me to engage with my interlocutors through the symbolic register of the psyche, and move beyond our context-specific, ephemeral, person-to-person relationships. This is a methodological contribution to psychoanalytically-inflected research. This study is also a pioneering example of psychosocial, multi-sited, organisational ethnography that interlaces these research traditions thoughtfully, critically and processually. It provides a blueprint for constructing the ethnographic field in a psychoanalytically-informed manner, and offers an alternative to adopting clinical techniques such as psychoanalytic supervision and case consultation in psychosocial research.

I have further contributed to the post-Fordist, affective labour and psychosocial literatures by arguing that the enjoyment obtained from passionately performing a job is not wiped out by the pain experienced while doing so, as assumed in earlier debates on passion at work. Experience of both pleasure and pain in relation to the same object causes psychic conflicts and ambivalent thoughts and behaviour. I have suggested that different subjects respond to this ambivalence in different ways, which is where their agency manifests itself. Most reach some kind of resolution, suppressing the hate that emanates from pain or the love that is underpinned by pleasure to varying degrees. However, manifestations of these affective dispositions in thought and behaviour are subjective and undetermined. They range from individualistic escapes to political action. The challenge is to turn these individual responses into collective action that can effect social and organisational change.

Section 7.3 reiterated a critique made in Chapter 2 of the widely-accepted definition of affective labour as the production of ‘a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement, passion’ (Hardt, 1999: 96). It is argued that this definition is too expansive in terms of the productive activities it encompasses, yet too limited in the attributes of the affective labour it covers. In other words, the definition lists a number of affects produced by affective labour, but ignores who produces them and how. Thus, it does not sufficiently differentiate between affective labour and cognitive and manual labour, the products of which may also incite similar affects. For example, game development is cognitive labour, but ultimately produces ‘a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement, passion’ (Hardt, 1999: 96). The section revisited the literature with a view to identifying all attributes of affective labour, challenging some assumptions and assertions about these and adding new attributes based on the research findings.

First, the necessity for interpersonal skills and emotion management in affective labour has been explored. Second, the need for human contact has been critically evaluated. I have argued that this human contact is mediated not only by devices and artefacts, but also through the imaginary and symbolic registers of the psyche. Third, the reproductive aspect of affective labour has been studied. It has been argued that both unpaid and paid affective labour are vital for the day-to-day biological and emotional reproduction of individuals and collectives. Fourth, in discussing the performative nature of affective labour, it has been contended that affective labourers perform their social roles and statuses (especially gender, class and race),

organisational or brand ‘values’, and the post-Fordist ethos of love. The first two are categorised as imaginary identification as they are identification with role models and cultural imagery that reproduce existing social roles, while the last is categorised as symbolic identification because it is identification with a norm and the normative order structured around it. Fifth, the performance of love has been taken as an attribute of affective labour on its own. I have differentiated between imaginary identification with the cultural imagery of love, and symbolic identification with the ethos of love. As discussed above, the latter is embodied and enacted through idiosyncratic performances and agential action. Finally, I have offered a new definition of affective labour as the performative work of reproducing individuals and collectives, requiring human contact, interpersonal skills, emotion management, embodiment of cultural imagery and social roles, and love.

Overall, the chapter has revealed an empirical link between love and affective labour that has been missing from theory. This relationship is one of mutual reinforcement. The chapter has demonstrated that affective labour gives enjoyment to its performers, whose love for their job is then reinforced; that performing love as part of affective labour strengthens consumers’ attachment to the post-Fordist ethos; and that affective labour is performative, in the sense that it produces post-Fordist subjects through everyday performances of its ethos. The ethos of love as an ideology and affective labour as a mode of production are two bastions of post-Fordism that serve profitmaking at workers’ expense, and keep workers attached to roles that provide ever-dwindling material gains.

Chapter 8: Final Words on the Labour of Love

This thesis has studied the vicissitudes of love and affective labour in the Turkish fine-dining context. It has inquired how the ethos of love emerged, is circulated, locally articulated, embraced and acted upon, on the one hand; the nature of love for one's job and its effects on workers' rights and wellbeing, organisations and socio-economic structures, on the other. These issues were researched through a multi-sited psychosocial organisational ethnography conducted in Istanbul. The research has traced the ethos of love in discourses, images, artefacts and performances across restaurants, culinary schools, culinary events and the media. The data analysis has drawn on Freudian dream interpretation, which Lacan employed to interpret his analysands' discourse.

The thesis has engaged with three theoretical traditions: post-Fordist thought, the affective labour debate and the psychosocial literature. Post-Fordist theory has helped contextualise the phenomenon of loving one's job within global historical, economic, social and cultural trends. The affective labour debate has informed analysis of the immaterialisation of culinary production, the affective dimension of culinary labour and how its performance shapes subjectivity on a day-to-day basis. The thesis has followed psychoanalytically-inflected research in analysing attachment to the post-Fordist ethos, the performativity of affective labour and the vicissitudes of love for one's job.

Chapter 1 set the background to the research, which is the transition to post-Fordism in the culinary sector in the immediate aftermath of the 2000 and 2001 economic crises in Turkey. It is argued that, as a result, the middle class gradually joined the precariat, and the booming culinary sector became a magnet owing to the proliferation of culinary schools and media, the glorification of culinary work, and the marketing of culinary work opportunities. The chapter briefly introduced the literature and formulated the research questions. The latter pertain to links between the ethos of love, affective labour, workers' subjectivities and post-Fordist production relations.

Chapter 2 provided a review of the post-Fordist, affective labour and psychosocial literatures. It discussed how they informed the research, identified their gaps and contradictions, and set out how the thesis would address them. Section 2.1 discussed changes in capitalism in recent decades, such as growing immaterial production, increased precarity, work intensification (i.e. increasing workload and the

obligation to do more work in less time) and work extensification (i.e. overflow of work to areas of life formerly free from its grip). Drawing on previous theory and research in Organisation Studies and neighbouring disciplines, such as sociology, cultural studies, anthropology, philosophy and political science, it discussed the relationship between these changes and the emergence and spread of the ethos of love. Finally, it showed the limitations of the post-Fordist literature, including: (i) a lack of empirically-based studies on these processes in different contexts, which has led to meta-narratives and overgeneralisations; (ii) not elucidating psychic attachments to the post-Fordist ethos, leading to overly deterministic and/or individualistic analyses; and (iii) a gap pertaining to its relationship with affective labour, leaving a significant part of the post-Fordist affective work regime unexplored.

Section 2.2 looked at the technical composition of affective labour, i.e. who performs it, how they perform it and what they produce. It deduced attributes of affective labour that have hitherto been under-researched, under-theorised, or entirely overlooked. Section 2.3 focused mainly on psychoanalysis and psychoanalytically-inflected research. It discussed their unique strengths, such as providing a non-essentialist theory of the subject, an elaborate theory of love, and a non-binary ontology which enables a nuanced understanding of psychic attachments and affect. Finally, it showed that overdeterminism, for which previous psychoanalytically-inflected organisational research has been criticised (see Dashtipour and Vidaillet, 2017: 21-2), stems from its approach to identification as purely imaginary and reproductive of existing social and organisational structures. It offers an alternative, which is the study of symbolic identifications producing incremental systemic changes. The chapter concluded by considering the implications of thinking these three bodies of social theory together and applying them to the post-Fordist ethos and affective labour.

Chapter 3 explored the historical, political, economic and social background against which the transition to post-Fordism has taken place in the Turkish fine-dining sector. It investigated the roots of current organisational and sectoral phenomena, such as recruitment practices, organisational hierarchies, culinary training and education, and the popularisation of culinary work. Some of these can be traced back to pre-modern times, while others have emerged only in recent decades. Section 3.1 focused on pre-modern Ottoman eateries and their enduring influences on the Turkish restaurant sector. Section 3.2 conveyed the formation of a modern restaurant sector in

the 19th century and its decline following World War I. Section 3.3 discussed the revival of the sector in the 1980s as a result of neoliberalism. And, Section 3.4 looked at the formation of the culinary education sector from the 1980s onwards.

Chapter 4 presented the research methodology. It introduced the multi-sited design of this organisational ethnography which pursues the psychosocial phenomenon of ‘love for one’s job’. The introduction provided a self-reflexive account of how my social milieu and previous exposure to affect theory and psychoanalysis informed my research questions and my initial theoretical outlook. Section 4.1 presented multi-sited organisational ethnography and how it was adopted in this research. Section 4.2 provided details of the fieldwork. Section 4.3 discussed psychosocial research, explaining why and how it was appropriated in this study. In this section, the Lacanian underpinnings of the methodology and its differences from earlier psychosocial and psychoanalytically-inflected research were explained in detail. Section 4.4 explained the analysis carried out during deskwork and textwork. Finally, Section 4.5 provides a critical review of the methodology.

Chapter 5 examined how fine dining in general, and the Turkish fine-dining sector in particular, have been engulfed by the cultural and creative industries, and how this has enabled the post-Fordist ethos to become hegemonic. The chapter showed that a new discourse and imagery emerged in the late 1990s and early 2000s in the Global North, which glorified culinary work, incited the desire of middle-class subjects to pursue it, and paved the way for gentrification of the industry. Section 5.1 explored the localism trend in gastronomy, which presents culinary production as a cultural endeavour, raising its status and economic value. Section 5.2 studied the culinary arts discourse, which attributes creativity and passion to culinary work, rendering it attractive to middle-class subjects. Section 5.3 looked at cultural imagery, and particularly the burgeoning genre of culinary romantic comedies, with a view to identifying the messages they persistently convey and their reception by viewers. Interlocutors’ reactions to this imagery were studied by interpreting the idiomatic expressions they invoked while describing their reactions. These interpretations reveal identification with culturified representations of culinary work and the ethos of love.

Having studied attachment to the post-Fordist ethos, Chapter 6 turned to its everyday performance, its place in affective production, and its effects on workers’ subjectivities and wellbeing. The chapter demonstrated that the show kitchen provides a psychosocial space for the play of desire between cook and patron, which produces

an affective transmission. The cook tries to embody cultural representations of culinary work as passionate and creative in order to incite patrons' desire (Section 6.1), while patrons derive pleasure from an aesthetic show kitchen that reifies and a passionate chef who embodies these cultural representations (Section 6.2). It was inferred from interpretation of the idiomatic expressions invoked by each party that their desires are shaped by the post-Fordist ethos inscribed in the discourses and cultural imagery that they constantly encounter (Section 6.2). Therefore, Section 6.2 argued, the affective transmission achieved through the cook's performance in the show kitchen is mediated through the symbolic and imaginary registers of the psyche. Sections 6.1 and 6.2 also analysed cooks' embodiment and enactment of their identifications with the post-Fordist ethos by adopting the theory of performativity. These were categorised as the performance of imaginary identifications with cultural imagery and social roles, and symbolic identification with the ethos of love. The former is a reproductive form of identification that perpetuates existing organisational and social relations, while the latter provides space for the creation of new subjectivities and piecemeal systemic change. Lastly, Section 6.3 studied cooks' lived experience of love. It was argued that culinary work gives pleasure and inflicts pain simultaneously, which leads to ambivalence and psychic conflict, and that workers' agency is manifested especially in subjective responses to this ambivalence.

Finally, Chapter 7 discussed how the findings from the ethnographic research contribute to the literature. It returned to the questions guiding the research and explained how these have been addressed. Section 7.1 problematised the dark side of culinary work, which is assumed by scholars and the general public alike to be intrinsic to this profession. It identified recent improvements and deteriorations in working conditions, and argued that the transition to post-Fordism has compounded issues such as overwork and job insecurity. Section 7.2 discussed the institution of the hegemony of the post-Fordist ethos in the Turkish fine-dining sector and the formation of psychic attachments to it. In Section 7.3, the working definition of affective labour was critiqued in light of the research findings, and a new, psychoanalytically-inflected definition was proposed. Section 7.4 theorised the link between the mutually reinforcing constituents of the post-Fordist affective economy: love and affective labour.

This thesis contributes to the literature by elucidating the vicissitudes of post-Fordist love and affective labour. It approaches post-Fordist love as an ethos/ideology

producing economically valuable affects, distributed by the cultural industry, articulated with local discourse and cultural imagery, and embraced, reified and performed by local actors. It provides an ethnographic account of the post-Fordist ethos, rooted in the Turkish fine-dining sector and branching out to post-Fordist production across the world. It is the first psychoanalytically-inflected study of affective labour. In deploying psychoanalytical theory, the thesis provides a rigorous analysis and elaborate theory of symbolic identification with the post-Fordist ethos, imaginary identification with the cultural imagery in which it is embedded, performance of these identifications as part of affective labour, and the ambivalence resulting from loving jobs that cause suffering. It shows that all of these are part of the psychosocial process of post-Fordist subject formation.

The thesis makes methodological contributions emerging from cross-fertilisation between multi-sited organisational ethnography and psychosocial research. It provides (i) a blueprint for constructing the ethnographic field in a psychoanalytically informed manner, (ii) an alternative to clinical techniques such as psychoanalytic supervision and case consultation in psychosocial research, and (iii) a novel take on analysis of identification in Lacanian research that focuses on the symbolic rather than the imaginary.

Departing from the beaten path in psychosocial studies, affective labour research and organisational ethnography, all of which are relatively new fields in themselves, has been a difficult undertaking. As discussed in detail in Chapter 4, I embarked on this research with theoretical and methodological sensibilities and a curiosity sparked by personal experience, rather than fully formulated research questions and an established methodological framework. As is common in ethnography, I conducted preliminary research on the Turkish fine-dining sector, which helped focus my attention. This showed that ‘love’ permeates culinary work and finds expression in discourse, cultural imagery and performance. These expressions all have different ontological statuses, psychosocial positions and empirical qualities, as well as being dispersed in time and space. None of the well-established methodological frameworks are able to capture the full complexity of the phenomenon or afford straightforward interpretations. Therefore, I moulded the methodology as the research progressed.

I designed the fieldwork processually and experimented with different interpretative strategies, reiterating between the empirical material and theory. This also allowed me to present the findings in different academic settings and receive

feedback on my work. My initial attempts to interpret idiomatic expressions were well received, while deeper theoretical engagement helped me realise the centrality of symbolic identification to Lacan's clinical work, from which he infers polyvalent, homonymous discursive constructs (idiomatic expressions, puns, witticisms, etc.). When I returned to my data with these insights, I listened more carefully to the idiomatic expressions that my interlocutors often invoked. These captured how love is incited, performed and experienced. In other words, Turkish culinary idioms have indeed been telling about the relationship between love and cooking. The methodological innovations mentioned above are products of this process.

As far as I am aware, no previous psychosocial research has taken idiomatic expressions as a point of entry to the unconscious and affect, nor focused on symbolic identification. Hence, it is uncertain how this interpretive technique will be received in psychosocial and organisational studies. I am also unsure to what extent this method is applicable to non-culinary contexts and other languages. The Turkish language is rich in culinary idioms, and when one starts to listen, one realises that these are invoked very frequently. Therefore, my interpretative strategy may not prove as productive in other research endeavours. Nevertheless, what is important in psychosocial research is to employ a theoretically robust and coherent method conducive to the study of the unconscious and affect. I believe that, especially in Lacanian research, this is only possible by engaging with the interlocutor on a symbolic rather than imaginary level. To this end, further research might adapt this methodology to interpret polyvalent discursive formations other than idiomatic expressions, such as puns and witticisms. This would enable a wider application of the proposed methodology.

Another methodological challenge pertains to the move from the individual and the organisational to the social, from the micro and meso to the macro, and from the local to the global based on the ethnographic material. The assumption underlying all ethnographic research is that the former is a singular expression of the latter. Every case has both particularities and qualities shared with other cases of the same kind. This thesis takes the Turkish fine-dining context as one such particular case of transition to post-Fordism. Special effort has been made to differentiate between local and global actors, forces, features and trends in order to accurately identify findings relevant to other contexts and theorise from them. The peculiarities of this case include the leading role of the sector in Turkey's transition to post-Fordist production, and the

antagonism between self-trained and educated cooks resulting from the transition. However, the thesis also shows that this transition is significantly shaped by supranational trends in the culinary sector (e.g. the culinary arts discourse, localism and the glorification of culinary work), in the economy (immaterialisation), and in the ideology of work (the hegemony of the ethos of love). As shown in Chapter 2, in the post-Fordist era, the ethos of love and affective labour have indeed become hegemonic across the world in sectors as wide-ranging as IT, creative and cultural industries, services and higher education.

When I began to conduct this research, I thought that my own curiosity was rooted in a desire to understand my acquaintances – primarily my sister – who were pursuing their passion for culinary work. I gradually understood while writing this thesis that I had actually set myself the impossible task of resolving my own psychic conflicts resulting from being deeply affectively invested in an academic career. I derived immense pleasure from my intellectual engagement and my encounters with interlocutors as a researcher; yet during postgraduate study, I have also endured financial insecurity, uncertainty about my future, long-term separation from my family and friends, dwindling free time, and a deterioration in my health, like thousands of other academics, and especially early career researchers, around the world. My studies suddenly came to a halt due to a vestibular disorder halfway through drafting this thesis, which threatened my studies, income, resident status in the UK and access to healthcare when I most needed it. This was truly a time of reckoning. I questioned the leap of faith that I had taken in acting on my desire to pursue an academic career. Only then was I able to understand the competing affective forces that I harboured, and the emotional labour that I had performed for years to suppress the pain and confusion. Therefore, the main contribution of this thesis lies in its conclusions about affective labour and the vicissitudes of love that we, as post-Fordist subjects, must grapple with while performing a range of jobs in significantly different socio-economic contexts.

The thesis identifies a set of attributes of affective labour based on the research findings and the previous literature. In light of this empirical and theoretical work, it redefines affective labour as the performative work of reproducing individuals and collectives, which requires human contact, interpersonal skills, emotion management, embodiment of cultural imagery and social roles, and love. Some of the attributes studied and encapsulated in this definition, such as performativity, have been neglected by previous studies. Therefore, more research is needed to understand their

manifestations in different contexts and their broader applicability. Similarly, future research should focus on how the ethos of love is embraced, experienced, acted on, performed and reified in different settings. In order to make a compelling critique of the post-Fordist ethos, we need to know its concrete effects, especially on workers' rights and wellbeing.

Finally, future research might further explore the subjective ways in which workers respond to the ambivalence of love, whether by flight or collective fight. There are as many contestations with employers over the affect and surplus value produced through the performance of love as there are workers who embrace the post-Fordist ethos. These are resolved not in theory but in practice. The best that researchers can do is to observe, articulate and potentially spark some desire for real-life struggles.

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